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- ART. I.—*Encyclopédie - Roret. Naturaliste Préparateur. Paris : Librairie Encyclopédique de Roret, Rue Hautefeuille, No. 12. (Roret's Encyclopædia. Volume, The Preparing Naturalist.) 1852.*
2. *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry ; prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy, and Travellers in General. Edited by Sir John F. W. Herschel, Bart. Second Edition. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. London: John Murray. 1851. Articles:—Geology, by Charles Darwin, Esq.; Mineralogy, by Sir H. T. De la Beche; Zoology, by Richard Owen, Esq.; and Botany, by Sir William Hooker.*
3. *Käfer Kalender (The Beetle Calendar). Schmetterlings Kalender (The Butterfly Calendar). Entomologisches Vade Mecum (The Entomologist's Vade Mecum).*
4. *Report on the Investigation of British Marine Zoology by means of the Dredge. Part I. The Infra-littoral Distribution of Marine Invertebrata in the Southern, Western, and Northern Coasts of Great Britain. By Edward Forbes, F.R.S., Professor of Botany in King's College, London, and Palæontologist of the Geological Survey of the United Kingdom. (From the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1850.) London: Richard Taylor. 1850.*
5. *Taxidermy. By Archibald Hepburn. (Maunder's 'Treasury of Natural History.') London. 1849.*

THESE titles seem somewhat multifarious. They assemble themselves, however, naturally enough, around what we may

call the idea of this paper, which, indeed, in the mind which indites it, resembles exactly those little marine molluses who protect their own shells and their own existence by glueing around them all contiguous and convenient objects, and especially the shells of their neighbours. Our talk is of specimens illustrative of the natural sciences. The maternal idea of this paper is to give out a few general notions, or useful hints, how to find, prepare, and preserve minerals, plants, and animals. Thousands of individuals and families, remembered affectionately by the writer, rise up before him, who are full of intelligence, but somewhat exclusively bookish, who would seek health and instruction together in the pages of creation, if the commencement of their researches were not made discouraging and disagreeable by technical terms and practical difficulties. We write to help them. 'What to observe' is less the object of our plain and familiar hints than 'how to preserve' the objects of the sciences of observation. Of course, our objects are purely initiative; we profess nothing more, than to give our readers a few clues of the glorious labyrinths, the wandering mazes of which are the laws of nature, and lead to infinitude.

A few words upon these publications.

1. The 'Preparing Naturalist' was compiled by M. Boitard. It is a volume in the encyclopedia of manuals, published by M. Roret, many of which are cheap and valuable treasuries of practical knowledge. The 'Naturaliste Préparateur' consists of 504 pages (18mo), of small print (nonpareil), and is illustrated by 130 figures; the price is thirty-five pence (three francs and fifty centimes). It contains instructions in the art of stuffing animals, of preserving vegetables and minerals, and of preparing normal and pathological pieces, with a treatise upon embalming. It teaches the elements of classification, and, in addition to directions for preservation, puts the student in the way to pursue the art of preparation, by which organized beings retain the appearances of life. Condensing a great mass of information, and expressing himself with clearness and good sense, M. Boitard has produced a manual which is practically and honestly valuable.

2. 'The Admiralty Manual of Scientific Enquiry,' edited by Sir John Herschel, and containing contributions by Airy, Sabine, Beechey, Whewell, Hamilton, Darwin, Mallet, De la Beche, Birt, Owen, Hooker, Bryson, and Porter, is a book well worth the half guinea it costs. The advice of such men is cheap at any price. But the English book contains less matter, and ought not to cost more than thrice the price of the French one; and the difference is owing to the British taxes upon paper which were imposed, and are maintained, to restrict education

and knowledge. Napoleon III., in the first months of his dictatorship, tried to impose taxes upon paper in the British fashion, but was compelled to desist by the opposition he encountered in a capital familiar with his cannons. Presuming that the French and English manuals combine the best methods of the naturalists of their respective nations, it will, we hope, prove instructive to compare the directions of M. Boitard with those of Mr. Charles Darwin on geology, Professor Richard Owen on zoology, and Sir Henry De la Beche and Sir William Hooker on mineralogy and botany.

3. Professor Von Ratzeburg is one of the most distinguished of German entomologists. The collector of beetles and butterflies derives from his tables useful hints for his researches, and is told what to expect at every season of the year.

4. The title of this very valuable Report, by Professor Edward Forbes, describes it sufficiently.

5. Mr. Hepburn has published a very good and concise manual of taxidermy, which word is now used to signify the preparation of all sorts of zoological specimens.

Minerals are easiest collected and preserved. Dust, air, and damp, are the foes from which they must be protected, by preserving the freshness of their fractures, and placing them upon shelves enclosed in glass. The size of the specimens and the preparing of them must be left to individual taste. The minerals of M. Haüy at the Jardin des Plantes are small, are carefully placed upon little pedestals to exhibit their crystals, and the tickets describing them are pasted upon the bases of the pedestals. The beginner will soon stumble against more minerals and metals than he knows, and he cannot do better than break into neat specimens, with fresh fractures, all he finds. After he is master of the chemical and crystallographical properties of these, he may climb the mountains, and dive into the mines to enrich his collections.

The most useful tools of the mineralogist and geologist are portable hammers and iron chisels; a magnifying glass of three lenses is necessary to examine the small crystals; but this instrument is of course always in the pocket of every naturalist. Specific gravities are ascertained by weighing specimens in the air, and then in distilled water; the angles are measured by the goniometer or angle-measure, and their chemical composition is exposed by the blow-pipe. Distilled water, often indispensable to the naturalist, can be obtained by condensing the steam from the spout of a tea-kettle. Three works, which have all been translated into English, are recommended to the student who determines to master the science of mineralogy;

Plattner's and Berzelius's on the 'Blow-pipe,' and Von Kobell's tables for the 'Determination of Minerals.'

Science is knowledge viewed as we know it; art is knowledge viewed as we work it. At a time when the English race is spreading itself around the world with unexampled rapidity, and in unequalled numbers, taking possession of the earth, a workable knowledge of mineralogy is invaluable. Men with this knowledge of it found the gold in California and Australia. A man who knows lignite, the out crop of coals upon a sea-coast, or the sort of springs issuing from coal-beds, may discover a station for a steam navy, or the fuel for a nation. Who can tell what power and wealth may come of a man knowing blackband or ironstone? Examples are endless; suffice it, that every wise man ought to turn his walks in the fields, and his excursions to the sea coasts or the high lands, to account, in cultivating the habit of observing and examining minerals. His explanations of his little collection, of the composition, characters and uses of his minerals and metals, will make mineralogy one of the lights and pleasures of his household. Most people know granite when they see it. Well, it is composed of quartz, feldspar, and hornblende, three most important minerals. The dark green hornblende is often replaced by mica, a silvery mineral which easily peels off. Break a bit of granite or lava, and it exhibits crystalline structure; a bit of clay-slate or sandstone, and it displays mechanical structure. Limestone assumes all hues, and effervesces with acids. Cleavage, to expose, structure for the determination of minerals, is an art which requires dexterity, and a fair knowledge of the planes or grain of the cleavage. The minerals which do not cleave readily receive a smart blow upon a chisel placed in the supposed lines of cleavage. In some, cleavage is traced by lines upon the faces of the crystals. Optical researches are sometimes necessary to show them. In the same mineral the cleavages are always disposed in the same manner; a fact upon which is based the trick of breaking flints with a blow of the fist. The solid resulting from three directions of the cleavage planes, always presents the same angles in the same kind of minerals. When there are more than three planes, one set is termed principal, and the other supplementary cleavage.

M. Dufrénoy has made the following arrangement of the characteristics of natural minerals:—

'1. *State of Aggregation*.—While minerals are commonly solid, some, like native mercury and certain bitumens, are liquid, so that they may be distinguished as *liquid*, *friable*, and *solid*.

'2. *Colour*.—Colours are either constant or accidental; when the former, and connected with chemical composition, they are important;

thus peroxide of iron is red, sulphuret of lead a peculiar blue grey, and so on. Accidental colours are chiefly due to the mixtures of mineral substances. The peculiar appearance known as *chatoyant* (browning) depends upon the structure, and is referred to the cleavage-planes, the reflected light from which changes according to their position. Labradorite is a good example of this property.

‘3. *Form*.—This term is not intended to include the geometric form of a mineral, which is considered under the head of its crystallographic characters, but comprises only common imitative, pseudo-morphous, and pseudo-regular forms. The first term is applied to the mode of occurrence of the mineral in mass, fragments, plates, or in an amorphous condition. The second, to its occurrence in grains, nodules, &c. The third, when a mineral takes the form of a pre-existing body, whether organic or inorganic. The term *pseudo-regular* is applied to such arrangements of parts as are presented by basaltic columns and other prismatic forms of igneous rocks, apparently also extending to the parallelopipeds arising from the intersection of the divisional planes, commonly termed the *joints* and *cleavage* of rocks.

‘4. *Lustre*.—Such as vitreous, wavy, silky nacreous, adamantine, semi-metallic, and metallic.

‘5. *Transparency*.—Varying from diaphanous, through demi-diaphanous, translucent, and translucent at the edges, to opaque. Rock crystal is diaphanous, chalcedony translucent—both different aggregations of the particles of silica.

‘6. *Fracture*.—This is distinguished as lamellar, granular, fibrous, radiated-fibrous, schistose, and compact.

‘7. *Hardness*.—This character is relative. The following is a scale of hardness proposed by Mohs, and somewhat commonly adopted:—

- “1. Lamellar Talc. 2. Selinite (crystalized sulphate of lime.) 3. Iceland spar (carbonate of lime). 4. Fluor spar (fluide of lime). 5. Phosphate of lime. 6. Lamellar felspar. 7. Rock crystal. 8. Topaz. 9. Ruby or Sapphire. 10. Diamond.”

‘8. *Toughness*.—This character consists in the resistance which a substance offers to be broken or torn. A soft mineral may be very tough, such as sulphate of lime; a hard one readily fractured, as flint; and some are both hard and tough, as jade.

‘9. *The Scratch*.—Trials for hardness give a scratch and powder, which are useful in the determination of minerals. Thus the ores of iron, named hematites, give a red or yellow ochre powder, which at once distinguishes the mineral from the concretionary ores of manganese, the powder of which is black.

‘10. *The Stain*.—This character is only applicable to a few minerals, and those soft. It consists in marking paper or linen with the mineral—chalk and plumbago thus leave marks. Plumbago may be thus distinguished from sulphuret of molybdenum, which it otherwise much resembles.

‘11. *Unctuousity*.—Many minerals are soft and soapy to the touch, such as talc and serpentine magnesian minerals.

'12. *Flexibility*.—Several are flexible, such as native silver and copper. Some are both flexible and elastic, as mica.

'13. *Ductility*.—Principally applicable to native metals. Though sulphuret of silver and halloysite cannot be lengthened under the hammer, they are nevertheless termed ductile by the mineralogist.

'14. *Taste*.—Only applicable to certain substances, distinguished as bitter, sweet, salt, &c.

'15. *Adhesion to the tongue*.—Generally sufficient for distinguishing argillaceous from pure limestones.

'16. *Odour*.—Such as of the bitumens and other similar substances, or by means of breathing on or rubbing a mineral, when a peculiar smell is perceived.

'17. *Cold*.—The feeling of cold when a mineral is placed on the head. In this manner rock crystals and gems can be distinguished from glass and enamel, which otherwise may be made closely to imitate them.

'18. *Sound*.—This property must be taken in its ordinary acceptance, and not with regard to the motion given to the molecules by percussion. Some substances are very sonorous; phonolite is so named from this property.

'19. *Weight*.—This property is also to be taken in its common acceptance, the mineral being only supposed to be weighed roughly in the hand. In this manner carbonate of lime, sulphate of baryta, and carbonate of lead, may be easily distinguished.'—pp. 245-247.

A knowledge of natural minerals opens up many routes towards useful information, and conducts the practical observer into the workshops in which artisans transform materials into commodities. He compares black lead or graphite with what he finds in his pencils. Clay slates are to him not merely minerals, they are roofs and tablets. An agate is not merely a silicate, it is also a fossil and an ornament. Gypsum is native sulphate of lime, and is burned into plaster of Paris, stucco, scagliola, porcelain. Feldspar decomposes and forms china clay. He learns to sympathize with the men who have worked in the useful and beautiful art of pottery—Cookworthy, Wedgwood, and Bernard de Palissy. Iron pyrites are the sources whence the English were obliged to obtain their sulphur, when Napoleon interrupted the commerce with Naples. Tripoli consists of silicious remains of infusorial animalcules. The mineralogical observer follows the processes by which pure white silicious sand becomes glass. He traces fuller's earth in its preparation for use in the woollen manufactures. He observes with wonder peacock coal, and learns that the iris hues in this mineral, just like those of the soap-bubble, or iridescent paper, come from the power of a thin film to decompose light. Iron, copper, tin, zinc, lead, and gold ores, conduct an intelligent and practical curiosity back towards the history of their formation, chiefly in the *faults* or cracks in the strata of the

crust of the globe, and the processes by which they have been extracted; and forwards towards the arts by which they are transformed into grates, machines, instruments, locks, castings, pens, swords, cannons, silver, arsenic, coins, &c. &c. Probably it will be found worth the while of every father of a family to obtain and keep in a glass case neat specimens of the raw material of every mineral product he knows. Should he be asked questions he cannot answer, let him avoid all concealment of his ignorance under learned words. Never ought he to hesitate either to answer 'I do not know' (a response which stimulates curiosity), nor omit to encourage any juvenile project for finding out what is unknown.

Minerals to be thoroughly known must be studied optically, chemically, and crystallographically. There is an intimate connexion between their chemical composition and their crystalline forms. But it is not absolute. About ten in three hundred and fifty crystalized minerals occur under two incompatible forms, or are *dimorphous*; while there are others which are *iso-morphous*, or equally formed, although certain substances may replace others in them. To present the same composition, all necessary is an exact relation of their bases and acids. Comte de Bournon was able to describe nearly 800 modifications of carbonate of lime, or Iceland spar, although the fundamental crystal of it is a given rhombohedron. Perfectly-arranged particles of carbon form a diamond. The particles of alumina slightly mixed with oxide of iron, silica, &c., freely adjust themselves into rubies or sapphires. Carbonate of lime, with its particles parted so as to increase its specific gravity, or, as some say, when crystalized from a warm solution, becomes arragonite, and instead of a rhombohedron, is a hexagon. M. Ebelmen, by dissolving and crystalizing their elements, obtained rubies, chrysoberyls, chrysolites; and emeralds, from pounded emeralds. But we must stop; our object is merely to erect finger-posts. Proceeding by observation the student will be led into the sublimities of sea-coast caverns, inland mines, and mountain peaks, and advancing by the way of experiment he will reach the laws of optics and the simple substances of chemistry. The chemical classification of minerals of M. Dufrenoy resolves them into simple substances—alkaline salts and alkalines, earths, metals, silicates, and combustibles.

The mineralogist is the chemist, crystallographer, and optician of the organized substances of the earth. He shows that, the temperature being equal, and the composition of particles identical, crystals of the same form and the same sort have constantly the same angles. An optician, he studies how minerals refract and polarize light, and exhibits the constant relation

which subsists between the form and structure of minerals and their optical properties. A chemist, he tests minerals by the dry and the wet methods. But the business of the geologist is different. He is the anatomist of the earth. Geology is the anatomy of the globe. The first theory of what the earth is, at least the oldest which has been transmitted down to us, has as much truth in it as any formed since: the ancient Greeks believed the globe they inhabited to be an animal. The geologist dissects the animal upon which he lives;—its systems of production, nutrition, circulation, exhalation, absorption, secretion; its tissues, its apparatus, its skeleton. The geographer having taught that the form of this animal is that of an orange; the geologist studies the peel of the orange, the shell of the spheroidal animal, the crust of the grand and mysterious existence upon which he lives. The layers of the shell he calls strata. The materialistic theory which resolves the composition of the globe into dead matter is further from the truth than the grand guess that it is something like the back of a sublime tortoise.

Mr. Charles Darwin gives the practical student of geology excellent advice, derived, we believe, from Dr. William Smith, the worthy father of English geology, whose best title is his nickname, 'Stratum Smith.' Just as Bernard de Palissy the potter (and, by the way, one of the noblest of Protestant martyrs) was the founder of palæontology, the science of fossil or ancient plants and animals, a land surveyor, Stratum Smith, was the founder of practical geology, the science which teaches how to discover and explore the mineral riches concealed beneath the surface of the crust of the earth. How to make a section is the first lesson in geology, and the following extract teaches it:—

'To a person not familiar with geological inquiry, on first landing on a new coast, probably the simplest way of setting to work is for him to imagine a great trench cut across the country in a straight line, and that he has to describe the position (that is, the angle of the dip and direction) and nature of the different strata or masses of rock on either side. As, however, he has not this trench or section, he must observe the dip and nature of the rocks on the surface, and take advantage of every river, bank, or cliff where the land is broken, and of every quarry or well, always carrying the beds and masses in his mind's eye to his imaginary section. In every case this section ought to be laid down on paper, in as nearly as possible the real proportional scale, copious notes should be made, and a large suite of specimens collected for his own future examination. The value of sections, with their horizontal and vertical scales true to nature, cannot be exaggerated, and their importance has only lately been appreciated to the full extent. The habit of making, even in the rudest manner, sectional diagrams is of great importance, and ought never to be omitted: it

often shows the observer palpably, and before it is too late (a grief to which every sea-voyager is particularly liable), where his knowledge is defective. Partly for the same reason, and partly from never knowing, when first examining a district, what points will turn out the most important, he ought to acquire the habit of writing very copious notes, not all for publication, but as a guide for himself. He ought to remember Bacon's aphorism, that "*Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man;*" and no follower of science has greater need of taking precautions to attain accuracy; for the imagination is apt to run riot when dealing with masses of vast dimensions and with time during almost infinity. After the observer has made a few traverses of the country, and drawn his sections (and the coast-cliffs often afford him an invaluable one), he will be himself astonished, in the most troubled country, over which the surface has been broken up and re-cemented, almost like the fragments of ice on a great river, how all the parts fall into intelligible order. He will, in his mind, see the beds first horizontally stretched out one over the other in a fixed order, and he will then perceive that all the disturbance has arisen from a few nearly straight cracks, on the edges of which the beds have been upturned, and between which he will sometimes find great wedges of once heat-softened, but now crystalline rocks. He will find that large masses of strata have been removed and denuded, that is, ground down into pebbles and mud, and long ago drifted away, to form, in some other area, newer strata. He will now have a good idea of the physical structure of his district; and this much can be acquired with much greater facility than he will at first readily anticipate.—pp. 172-174.

The relations of geology with mining and agricultural industry ought to occupy the chief place in the researches of the practical student. The relations which subsist between the scenery of mountains, their round tops or their ragged peaks, and their mineralogical composition and geological history, will not cause him to overlook the conditions which enable man to extract precious stones or ores from their *faults*, and form soils suitable to the alimentary vegetables and domestic animals. However susceptible to the emotions of poetry and the picturesque, and however interested in the speculations of science, he will do well never to condemn utterly nor forget practically the wisdom of the spirit of the Glasgow baillie, who, amidst the glories of the sparkling waters and fairy islands of Loch Lomond, remarked what a beautiful and fertile valley it would make if drained. Both scientific and practical curiosity are necessary to establish the keen habits of observation required for success in the natural sciences. The man who has been interested in one country in coal deposits, because he is puzzled to know how strata many thousand yards thick of vegetable remains could have been formed, has acquired knowledge which may

enable him in another country to direct the sinking of a shaft for the working of a coal mine. Let every one follow the impulses of his curiosity and the bent of his mind. The answers to innumerable questions have not as yet been given. What is the cause of salt lakes? What goes on in the depths of the ocean? Whence come erratic boulders? How have chains of mountains been formed? By upheavings? or by collapses? Icebergs, glaciers, coral reefs, deltas, geysers, volcanoes, and earthquakes, with many others we might enumerate, are all names of phenomena which excite wonder and baffle interpretation.

Original investigators will find generally that they must invent their own tools and processes. But, in addition to the instruments of the mineralogist, geologists have ordinarily maps, sextants, and a clinometer or bed-measure. 'One of the simplest clinometers,' says Mr. Charles Darwin, 'is that constructed by the Rev. Professor Henslow: it consists of a compass and spirit-level fitted in a small square box; in the lid there is a brass plate, graduated in a quadrant of 90 degrees, with a little plumb-line to be suspended from a milled head at the apex of the quadrant. The line of intersection of the edge of the clinometer, when held horizontally with the plane of the stratum, gives its strike, range, or direction; and its dip or inclination, taken at right-angles to the strike, can be measured by the plumb-line. . . . A flat piece of rock representing the general slope can usually be found, and by placing a note-book on it, the measurement can be made very accurately.' Barometers and hand-levels are useful. Mr. Robert Chambers found, that having ascertained the exact height of his eye, he could measure altitudes tolerably well by pointing the level to a stone or plant, and walking to it, and, by successive elevations of the level, arriving at the altitude required.

The preparation and preservation of fossils is a matter of some difficulty. Flints are always fossils, or rather always enclose vegetable or animal remains. The flint walls and houses in the chalk districts will prove this observation to every one who takes the trouble to verify it. The most common are petrified pholades, echinides, sponges, pectens, terebratulæ. The Sussex agates are petrified sea anemones. When Dr. Mantell discovered these fossils he sent them to M. Cuvier. This celebrated man had a theory of successive creations of the globe to support against hosts of naturalists and theologians, and he declared them to be lost species. They are figured by Dr. Mantell as coanites and ventriculites. Like the agates, they are actiniæ, which have been caught in the petrifying and silicious solution in various shapes. This may be demonstrated

by placing the petrifications side by side with the living molluscs, and watching their changes of form. To remove the chalk adhering to them the fossil flints are placed in a solution of sulphuric acid. In the chalk many shells are found, which are cleaned in warm water by rubbing them with old and hard toothbrushes. Fishes, when perfect, are too valuable to be entrusted to unskilful cleaning. They must be confided to a professional geologist. Fossils in sandstone are placed in a vice, and the extraneous stone carefully chipped away by a mallet and chisel. But the great prizes of the paleontological collector are fossil bones. A virgin cavern full of bones creates a sensation throughout the geological world. Fossilized human bones, said to have been found in the island of Creta, are shown in a block of stone at the Jardin des Plantes. Cuvier placed there a fossilized bird from Montmartre.

Palæontology is the antiquarianism of the natural sciences, and the remains of the mastodon, dinotherium, &c., are to the palæontologist what hieroglyphic monuments, the remains of Athens or Nineveh, are to the antiquarian. Hence the importance of accuracy—‘of labelling every specimen—of never mingling those of different formations, and of describing the succession of strata whence the fossils were discovered. Every single specimen ought to be numbered with a printed number (those which can be read upside-down having a stop after them), and a book kept exclusively for their entry.’ . . . ‘Misplaced fossils are far worse than none at all.’

With regard to researches for fossils, we advise the beginner to commence by obtaining inspections of the collections of the districts he visits, and by placing himself in communication with the workmen who work in the quarries or mines, and excavate the tunnels, wells, or foundations which show the strata, and reveal the remains they contain. The best collections have been formed by compacts between intelligent workmen and the collector of the museum. Pill-boxes are recommended for packing up delicate fossils. Specimens containing shells in soft rocks ought to be three or four inches square, and wrapped in paper. Fossil footsteps are searched for in ‘rippled’ sandstone quarries, in which the strata are separated by seams of shale; the largest slabs portable are taken away, and drawings and casts are made of the footsteps. The packing of fossils in boxes for transport may follow the order of the strata, the heaviest and hardest specimens being placed lowest, and rubbing and collision prevented by a corresponding series of protective wrappings of straw, hay, saw-dust, sea-weed (*zostera marina*), oakum, moss, or cotton. We cannot pass from geology to botany without recommending to our readers, as a wise guide

in their studies, the 'Geological Observer' of Sir Henry De la Beche, an invaluable store of practical information.

M. Boitard, by the way, finishes his hints to geologists with the following advice, which never was more necessary than at the present moment. We extract it for the benefit of such of our readers as may be thinking of spending their autumn holidays upon the continent in mineralogical, geological, botanical, or zoological researches.

'We shall conclude by an excellent bit of advice for all travellers, and especially for geologists who are constantly upon crossroads, and who are often near the natural limits of states, such as rivers, mountain chains, &c., which they pass and repass many times. This advice is to provide themselves with good passports, and to have them always *en règle*. Without the most careful precautions they incur the risk, thanks to the perfection to which the legislators of all nations have now brought civilization—of obtaining specimens, not of Alps and glaciers, but of the gloomy walls of prisons. It is indispensably necessary to distrust all countries in which they talk much of liberty, with the exception of England. We shall cite facts to support what we say. "Here," says M. Boué, "is a learned Prussian arrested in his researches by an absurd *gendarme* of his own country; elsewhere geologists have been taken for refractory *conscrits*, placed in prison, and dragged chained to thieves for neglecting certain *visa*. M. Hugi was taken up in Entlebach for a vagabond, and in answer to his complaints, was beaten with a stick by a fat *gendarme*, &c. The mayor of Montpezat caused me to be arrested in Vivarais, mistaking my barometer for a musket, my specimens for *cartouches*; and my book of memoranda for incendiary proclamations."—p. 102.

Herborization, or botanizing, is searching for plants; a herbarium is a collection of plants; and a herbal a book describing them. The beginner asks how he is to commence his researches? and he must be answered by a question,—what sort of plants he wishes? soft or hard? fresh water or salt? seeds? bulbs? tubers? cuttings? rooted plants? drugs? dye-stuffs? or vegetable products useful for food, clothing, building-utensils, &c.? A person who would collect a specimen of every vegetable he encountered, or even a bit of all the kinds of wood to be met with, would soon have a collection from which he could derive constantly scientific instruction and practical use. Moreover, Sir William Hooker—a walk with whom in Kew Gardens is a delightful experience for a lifetime—proclaims loudly the ignorance which still exists among the most learned botanists of the origin of some of the most familiar vegetable substances. This present writer has amused himself with learned gentlemen of the sort, who suffer strangulation when forced to say 'I don't know,' by asking them the most common of Sir William Hooker's list of *Inquirenda*. 'Can you

tell me the plant whence gamboge is obtained? or copal? or mocha-senna? or catechu? or cubebs? or cassia? or cassia-buds? or medicinal rhubarb? or arrowroot? or aloes? or stone oil? or green tea? or assafœtida? or sago? or camphor oils? or turmeric? or grass oils? or Adelaide resin? or cinnamon? or rice-paper? or cardamom? or myrrh? or camwood? or teak? or sarsaparilla? or copaiva? or false ipecacuan? or cohoon oil?' Almost every one is familiar with the names of these vegetable products, and nobody knows, in Europe, certainly the plants which produce them. But these are only specimens of the gulf of ignorance which separates what we may boldly call scientific from commercial botany. Half the 'Inquirenda' would exhaust our printer's stock of marks of interrogation, and as it is, we fear we have used more than a fair share. Now, how is a man (who cherishes the only worthy ambition, to leave the world a little less ignorant, unhappy, and wicked than he found it) to answer any of these queries? Emigrant, or voyager, or tourist, or traveller, or stay-at-home, what is he to do, to find, preserve, and examine vegetables? The essential thing is the habit of keeping the eyes open; the counteraction of the tendency of us all to look without seeing what we look at, and this, in other words, is the practice of collecting plants. We abridge the directions of Sir William Hooker in regard to living plants for cultivation.

Seeds must be gathered quite ripe, wrapped in quantities in dry and not absorbent paper, done up in parcels, and kept in airy places.

Bulbs and tubers ought to be taken up when the foliage has withered, well dried, and kept in the same way as seeds.

Cuttings. Most cuttings perish if sent far, but it is not so with *succulent* plants, which have thick, firm, and fleshy stems and leaves. *Cactuses, aloes, euphorbias, stupelias, mesembryanthemums, pine-apples, house-leeks, agaves*, will survive a long time if cut at a contraction, articulation, or setting-on of a branch. The wound ought to be dried by exposure to the sun. The cuttings are wrapped in paper, and when packed in a box, may be kept steady by any dry and elastic substance.

Rooted Plants. Some few succulent plants, small *cactuses, aloes, bromelias, Tillandsias, Zamias, Epiphytes* or *Air-plants*, or *orchideous plants*, and others of the *Arum* tribe, may be packed in straw like the cuttings, and sent a long voyage in a box. But plants in general can only be transported safely in Ward's plant-cases, which are, in fact, small portable green-houses. 'The plants,' says Sir William Hooker, 'should be established in the cases a few days before sending them off, secured by splints, so as to confine the roots in the soil in the event of the

box being overturned, and moderately watered. The lid is then fastened with putty and screws, and the case being placed on the deck of a vessel, so as to be exposed to the light, which is an indispensable requisite, will require no watering, nor any attention (unless the glass happens to be broken) during the entire voyage.'

After the lessons of the Crystal Palace, the botanical observer who should merely make a herbarium after the fashion of our fathers would show himself to be 'behind the age.' The artisan was taught there to advance from the skill of the workshop of the cabinet-maker, carpenter, cooper, dyer, turner, builder, shipwright, machine and instrument maker, towards the classifications and the principles of science. The student was also instructed there to utilize and ennoble his lore by connecting it with benefits and beneficence to society. Sympathizing thoroughly with the brave love of science which conducts learned botanists into the wildernesses of Asia, America, and Australia, and glad of any discovery whatever, a new grass or lichen, we wish that the most proudly scientific of explorers should know, that however admirable their descriptions and nomenclature, there exists one man at least who is of opinion they have not done more than half their duty if they have not followed every vegetable product, good for sheltering, or clothing, or healing, or feeding man, into the workshops of carpenters and of tailors, the alembics of druggists and the kitchens of cooks. The dignity of science consists in the utility of science. An illustration has reached us, through the newspapers from Singapore, of the importance of the point upon which we insist, even since the last sentence was written. An English planter of the Dutch settlement of Padang in Sumatra, where the coffee-plant has long been cultivated in a superior manner, writes to the 'Singapore Free Press,' to recommend the use of the coffee-leaf and twigs in addition to the berry. He says the natives, the agricultural Malays, have long derived from the leaves a wholesome and agreeable beverage. This is exactly what chemical botanists are prepared to accept at once as a thing of scientific probability and practical importance. Tea, coffee, and cocoa contain a similar azotized compound, and there is no chemical difference in the nitrogenous principle of theine and caffeine.

The tools necessary for botanizing or herborization are a stick with a hook or crook, a gardener's knife, a small trowel to dig up roots with, and a tin box which fits upon the back like a knapsack. Herborization can be pursued advantageously all the year; but spring and summer are best for the phanerogames (which show their sexes), and autumn and winter for the

cryptogames (which hide their sexes). A plant ought to be gathered perfect, with all its generic and specific characteristics, leaves, branches, twigs, roots, fruits, and the flowers with their organs, stamens, pistils, oviaries, calices, petals, &c. The instant a plant is gathered it is most carefully placed in the tin box without rubbing the flowers or breaking the twigs. All the roots are placed together, and enveloped in a little moist moss. By carefully excluding the air, and opening the box very seldom, flowers have been preserved for ten or fifteen days. But in regard to flowers, especially the blossom of trees, we derive from Mr. A. F. B. Creuse, principal surveyor at Lloyd's, a hint worth placing under the rubric we have adopted, for the convenience of our readers, who may use this article as a manual for reference.

Flowers.—‘A specimen of the flower and of the foliage. The first may be preserved by placing it stem downwards in a jar partially filled with dry sand (not from salt water, unless, previously to being dried, it has been thoroughly cleansed from salt), and then gently filling up the jar with fine dried sand till the specimen is completely covered; the foliage may be placed between the leaves of a blotting-book.’

The tin box is only necessary for the traveller who has not his drying-apparatus at hand. Brown or stout grey paper, or Bentall's botanic paper, which is sixteen inches by ten, or, when required, twenty inches by twelve; with two boards of the same size, one for the top and the other for the bottom; a few pieces of pasteboard or millboard to be placed between thick or woody specimens; and three leathern straps, with buckles, one to bind the boards lengthwise, and two crosswise; form the simple drying-apparatus of the botanist, which he may carry with him wherever there are not too many spectators. Most botanists on the tramp have their tin boxes upon their backs, and their boards and paper at their inns and hotels. Life appears tolerable after a day spent on mountains, downs, or sea-coasts, when the evening is occupied peacefully in laying out upon paper the newly-acquired treasures of nature.

When a botanist prepares a herbarium, his object is to preserve the colours of his plants, and, by absorbing their moisture, to dry them under a pressure, which will not allow them either to curl or crack. It is obvious he will succeed the better the quicker he is in laying out his specimen, and subjecting it to drying and pressure. Any weight will do to press the boards. If he botanizes on a damp day his plant is wet; if on a sunny day, a hot sunbeam may shrivel it. One mishap may cost him the colours, and the other the form of his specimen. The transference of the plant from the earth to the paper, or, when this

cannot be done, to the tin box, and again from the box to the paper, ought to be instantaneous. Copper coins are handy in pressing the leaves into the flat shape required by the sheets of paper. When the plant is small, it is taken, root and stem; when large, a bit of the branch is taken about a foot long, and in flower and fruit. Grasses, sedges, and ferns may be doubled once or twice. They are never placed side by side, or on the same sheet of paper, or above each other. The plants are laid so as to make the bundle of about equal thickness, two or three sheets of paper above each layer of specimens. 'Some very succulent plants, and others with fine but rigid leaves, the heath and pine tribes, for example, require to be plunged for an instant into boiling water ere they are pressed. In this case the moisture must be absorbed by a cloth or by blotting-paper.'

Fruits and fleshy plants are preserved in spirit or vinegar. We cannot sufficiently impress upon the beginner that no general directions can possibly suffice for the preservation of species of such infinite variety as are presented by the vegetable world. General methods succeed with the generality of plants; but to obtain really perfect and beautiful specimens, almost every plant must be an object of special study and intelligent care. Mosses and ferns yield the prettiest specimens to the least attention. We have seen a drawing-room delighted for an evening with an album of the mosses of the county in which they were shown. Indeed, such a volume is invaluable in a family as a perpetual source of instruction in the formation of a pure taste in design and colour. Until they are dry, a careful botanist examines his specimens daily. He removes tainted ones immediately. When his plants are dry, he places them upon sheets of paper, by gumming, not the plant, but little slips of paper which fasten down twigs, while they are themselves unseen. Upon the papers, he writes or gums his description or classification.

Sea weeds make up into beautiful albums. At most watering places they are made into ornaments and albums, and sold sometimes at high prices. We have been told that as much as two guineas have been paid for a specimen of *Codium bursa*. Nearly five hundred different kinds have been discovered on the British coasts. Dr. W. H. Harvey has described and figured them all in his 'Phycologia Britannica,' and produced an admirable work, which will excite the wonder of those who are not aware of what the labours of Mrs. Griffiths, of Torquay, Dr. Greville, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Harvey, of Dublin, have done for marine botany.

The collector of marine plants seeks them in their habitats at low tides, and drags them up with the dredge. The most

interesting red sea weeds occur at the verge of the low water mark of spring tides. After a hurricane it is sometimes worth while to examine the heaps of weeds thrown upon the sea shore. Beautiful corallines and instructive sponges are often brought ashore upon scollop shells. A bladder, an oil-skin basket, or a hand basket lined with japanned tin, or a wicker basket even, if close, will do to carry the weeds home in, where they ought to be plunged into a white hand-basin full of fresh water. After a few hours the water ought to be changed. The time necessary for the extraction of the salt depends upon the plant, and can be learned only by experience. That the small plants may arrange themselves naturally and gracefully, each specimen is floated in water in a soup-plate; all impurities are carefully removed by camel hair brushes; a sheet of absorbent paper is skilfully slipped beneath the plant, and it is caught and dried, looking its best. These best looks are beautiful enough to make the enthusiast ready to maintain that the plants have been shamefully ill-treated in being called weeds, if he does not become their champion, and contend, like another 'admirable Crichton,' against all comers for the proposition that the flowers of the sea are more delicately lovely than the flowers of the land. The objects of the marine botanist in making a herbarium are to obtain specimens free from salt, dry, and preserving their natural forms and colours. Most of these plants are glutinous, and will adhere to the paper if not prevented by cotton rags and frequent changes of the drying paper. Gentle pressure may be used, but it is dangerous for the softest and most delicate specimens. Of course, if the blotting paper sticks to the plant, it is destroyed. This mishap is prevented by changing the paper every six hours. The specimen never ought to adhere to the paper, because, if it does, the collector has lost his command over it. Small slips of paper, an inch long and a tenth of an inch broad, gummed at each end, over a branch or twig, will always keep the plant upon the sheet of paper which is to display it. 'The collector should have at hand,' says Dr. Harvey, 'four or five dozen pieces of unglazed thin calico (such as sells for 2d. or 3d. per yard,) each piece about eighteen inches long and twelve inches wide, one of which, with two or three sheets of paper, should be laid over every sheet of specimens as it is put in the press. These cloths are only required for the first two or three changes of drying-papers.'

Ocean flowers are classified according to their colours, which are olive, red, and green:—or, to repeat the same thing in the nomenclature of science, *algæ* are *fuci*, *floridiæ*, and *chlorosperms*. Propagating by suckers and spores, they can neither be classified according to the method of Linnæus, which is based upon

the stamens (male organs), nor according to the method of Jussieu, which rests upon the cotyledons or envelopes of the embryo or seed.

Corallines are the skeletons of polypes. Some of these stone-like plants are as delicate and more beautiful than the finest silk. We have seen exquisite specimens made up into a handsome volume for the drawing-room table, which were collected from the most unpromising heaps of sea weed upon the British coasts.

Prior to passing from the vegetable to the animal world we must linger a little longer upon the debateable ground between them, to translate the following from the 'Naturaliste Préparateur':—'Some *algæ* are transparent enough to show their interior organization through the film which envelops them. Those who wish to preserve this property, which is useful for study, must not lay these plants upon paper the opacity of which would prevent their being seen through when held up against the light. In this case glass is used instead of paper, and the plant is laid on when both are under the water. Instead of taking the glass and plant out of the water, they may be left at the bottom of the basin, and the water taken out by means of a sponge or syringe.'

Starfishes, anemones, and occasionally cuttlefishes, are washed upon our coasts by every storm. At low tides, under stones, in pools among sea weeds, exquisite little specimens of starfishes and crustacea are found. Probably there is no species of animals which more easily opens to the beginner in zoology the wonders of animal life than starfishes. Specimens are plentiful. Whether studied in regard to their habits, structure, or characteristics, to ascertain their physiology, their anatomy, or their classification, or in all three ways at once, they introduce the observer easily and gently into the marvels of the animated world. Low tides sometimes display many of them. Pools, in which there are groves of the pretty and common coralline (*corallina officinalis*), ought to be searched for under the stones most carefully for the rarer and smaller species.

As we have never seen any starfishes preserved in cabinets with their natural colours, except in a collection made by Mr. John Robertson, at Brighton, we may describe the process by which he obtained this desirable and attractive result, in regard to the spiny crossfish (*uraster glacialis*), the rosy cribella (*cribella rosea*), the sun-starfish (*solaster papposa*), &c. Mr. Robertson placed his specimens for an hour in a strong solution of alum in cold water which had been boiled. He then split up each finger along the centre just up to the small red speck at the tip, which is believed to be an eye. He scraped away

the suckers, and cleaned out the intestinal canal or stomach, which runs along each finger, with a small hard brush. During this operation the specimen was in a basin of water, and there was a draft of wind through the room, driving away the bad smell. Once perfectly clean, the specimen was plunged again into the solution of alum, and kept covered from the light for twelve hours. From this solution it was transferred to Goadby's solution No. 1:—

Bay salt	4 oz.
Alum	2 oz.
Corrosive sublimate	2 grains.
Rain water	1 quart.

The specimen was kept in Goadby's solution for a dozen or twenty-four hours, according to the size of the starfish. On being taken out of the solution the starfishes were wrapt separately, first in calico, and then in many folds of sacking, and dried rapidly before a strong fire. The specimens thus obtained were admired by all who saw them. Instead of being yellow, deformed, and shrivelled, they preserved the colours of nature and displayed both the bony and nervous organization of the animals. They were kept covered in a box, saturated with a few drops of copal.

Polypes, sea-anemones, or animal flowers, when expanded alive in sea water, may be killed and preserved in their expanded state by quietly and slowly adding Goadby's solution No. 1 to water until it replaces it. A small piece of corrosive sublimate thrown into the vessel of sea water paralyses the polypes of corals, madrepores, millipores, fungiaë, red coral, gorgoniaë, which are preserved in solution No. 2.

Bay salt	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
Arsenious acid, or white oxide of arsenic	20 grains.
Corrosive sublimate	2 grains.
Boiling rain-water	1 quart.

Infusorial animalcules, which have played important parts in the formation of coast lines, and produce the phenomena of oceanic luminosity, chalk cliffs, red seas, and red snow, for instance, are caught and preserved for the microscope with great facility.

A deposit from a bit of ice, a packet of sand, or mud brought from a great depth with the anchor or sounding line, the localities or latitude and longitude being duly noted, may disclose to a microscopist a new species.

Jelly fish or sea blubber (*Acalephæ*) are preserved in solution No. 1.

Brittle stars, the instant they are caught, are killed by being

plunged in cold fresh water, to prevent them from breaking themselves. It is not necessary to remove the contents of their stomachs. If kept in the alum solution, and solution No. 1, and dried by Mr. Robertson's process, brittle stars and sand stars preserve their colours.

Sea urchins (*echinus*), trepangs (*Holothuriæ*), are preserved in either solution. Each sea urchin ought to be enveloped in cotton, and sewed in a separate muslin bag, to preserve the spines. The first thing to be done with *echini* is to dissolve the salt about them in fresh water, and then they may be either preserved in the solution, or their spines protected mechanically.

Entozoa, or intestinal worms, and parasites, are found in all animals, especially fishes, and particularly the noses of sharks. They are preserved with the tissue in which they were found in proof spirit or solution No. 1. A glass blackened outside, or a hollow piece of wood painted black, beneath the water, assists the eyes in finding these worms, which are generally white.

Epizoa, external parasites, or fish lice and annelides, or worms, are found in the mouths and gills of fishes. Rare kinds of leeches have been found upon the torpedo and the marine tortoise. Most may be preserved in solution No. 1, but the *serpulidæ*, which have calcareous tubes, should be placed in No. 2.

Cirripedia or barnacles, and acorn shells or crown shells, are found attached to floating timber, seaweeds, shells, whales, turtles, sea cows, sea snakes, lobsters, crabs, &c. They are preserved in solution No. 2.

Crustacea, or shrimps, sea mantises, cray fish, lobsters, crabs, and king crabs, if soft or horny, are preserved in solution No. 1, and if defended by hard plates in No. 2. Some are of microscopic smallness, others a yard long. Middle-sized ones, if placed in a bottle with others, ought to be sewed in a bag. With regard to crustacea preserved dry, they are separated at the joint, the soft internal parts are cleaned out, and then the claws are refixed. They are killed in fresh water. After they are dried brilliant ones are coated with the following varnish:—

VARNISH FOR CRABS, EGGS, ETC. NO. I.

Common gum	4 oz.
Gum tragacanth	$\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

Dissolve these in three pints of water, add to the solution twenty grains of corrosive sublimate, and twenty drops of oil of thyme, dissolved in four ounces of spirit of wine; mix it well, and let it stand for a few days to separate: the clearer part is to be used as varnish, the thicker part forms an excellent cement.

The crustacea most worthy of research are those with glassy

shells, king crabs (*Limulus*), and the eggs or embryo which will be found under the tails of the females.

To catch crustacea, whether of the salt or fresh water kinds, a hoop with a small net upon it is dropped into the water near the mouth of a river when the tide is rising, or near the roots of a tree in a river. The bait used is a bit of meat; and a morsel of assafœtida wrapped up in a rag attracts them.

Calendars of the crustacea are desirable, in order to know the epochs at which they have taken possession of their new annual shells in all their freshness and brilliancy. Cotton saturated with camphor, or with soap dissolved in spirit, is placed inside the cleaned out crustacea by the French naturalists.

Insects for dissection are preserved in solution No. 1. The killing of insects presents difficulties to beginners. Beetles (*coleoptera*) are drowned in spirit, the solution, or hot water. The abdomens of the larger kinds must be emptied like the crustacea, and the parts gummed together again. When found in large numbers, they may be dried and packed in layers in sand in a box, which is screwed down and pitched at the seams. All sorts of insects, except butterflies (*Lepidoptera*) have been brought safely long distances in pill boxes, laid between layers of rags.

The best specimens of *Lepidoptera* are bred. The caterpillars are taken with the leaves of the plant upon which they feed, and placed in a perforated box. They undergo their metamorphosis, and the specimens obtained are perfect. Complete specimens of an insect mean the caterpillar (*larva*), chrysalide (*pupa*), and perfect insect (*imago*), with a branch of the plant upon which it feeds, to be kept in a herbarium for the purpose. Butterflies, bees, locusts, lacewings, &c., are easiest killed through their respiratory organs. The fumes of a lucifer match suffice for many of them. They may be pinned in the crown of a hat, or upon cork, or the pith of the elder-tree. The pin ought to be oiled with terebenthine to prevent rust, and if sharp at both ends it will be more easily turned. At the Jardin des Plantes they place the insect pinned upon cork in a glass vase; a little sulphuric ether is dropped at the bottom, and the mouth of the vase is covered closely. In a few minutes the insects are killed without being in the least deteriorated. Insects which have died in a bad attitude are softened by being placed in a vase above damp flax or sand. Insects are arranged upon a piece of cork, or willow, or poplar wood, in which a groove has been made proportioned to the expansion of the feet of the insect to be arranged. The insect is pinned in the groove. A large stocking needle fastened in a wooden handle gently

expands the wings, and they are kept down either with bits of glass or small strips of paper pinned with small pins. These pins are used to give the legs, tromp, mandibles, &c. the attitude required.

The labours of careful observers in entomology are much needed, to ascertain and record the epochs of insect life in connexion with the plants upon which they live. There is a plant in the Jardin des Plantes, which is attacked by no fewer than fifty species of insects. Some idea may be formed of the importance of entomological observation from the fact, that the destruction of the potato, of one plant, by one species of *aphides*, in Europe, in one year, 1845, was estimated at £30,000,000 sterling by competent persons. The dearth and distress of 1846-7 occasioned the revolutions of 1848. If an entomological cause played an important part in causing the revolutions, a mineralogical cause, the gold discoveries, partly explains the endurance of the tenfold oppressions under which the Continent now groans. Our space only permits us to recommend the tables and *vade mecum* of Professor Von Ratzeburg as models to the entomologist—see his ‘Förs Insecten.’

Chitons and limpets (*patellæ*) are best secured by chipping off with a hammer and chisel a bit of the rock under them.

Haliotides (sea-ears) may be removed from the rocks by throwing a little warm water over them, or perhaps alcohol or solution will be more convenient.

Mollusca, conchifera, echini, mussels, squids, snails, slugs, oysters, &c. are searched for at low tides. An iron rake with close set teeth is used, and the feet of the collector must be protected by dyer's wooden shoes, or French *sabots*, and the hands with strong leather gloves. The stings of sea nettles (*medusæ*), weevs, and sea urchins must be avoided, or they will spoil sport. Holes in coral rocks ought to be searched for ephalopods.

The floating mollusca are caught by the towing nets, of which there is one for the surface, and another a fathom or two beneath it. The deep sea trawl, the dredge of the fishermen, and the naturalist's dredge, first recommended by Mr. Robert Bull, are the instruments used in searching the floor of the sea. Voyagers in tropical latitudes are particularly requested to obtain specimens of *nautilus*, *pompilius* and *sporula*, and especially to preserve the animals perfect in spirit for dissection. The towing nets should be kept overboard at all practicable periods. The contents of the dredge are best ascertained by means of a series of riddles and sieves.

Photodes, *lithodomi*, *petricola*, &c., all the perforating molluscs

(*terebrans*), are invested with a peculiar interest at the present time. Sowerby, the celebrated conchologist, maintained that they make their holes in the rocks by means of absorption or of an acid. Poli, the great Neapolitan naturalist, declared, upon the testimony of his own eyes, that they excavate by a mechanical and not a chemical process; and no observer could have had better opportunities of observation, for these molluscs have destroyed the foundations of the pillars of an ancient temple in the Bay of Naples. Reaumur believed it was by rotatory movements, because the shells resemble a rasp. Mr. Edward Osler, in 1826, published the results of his observations and reasonings in support of the mechanical view. Cuvier, in his *Règne Animal*, basing his opinion upon the organization of the animals, and the testimonies of two eye witnesses, Poli and Osler, declared himself firmly, notwithstanding some difficulties, in favour of the mechanical theory. The British Association and the London Zoological Society have often discussed the subject during the last twenty years, manifesting great differences of opinion, and a nearly perfect unanimity of perplexity. In June, 1851, Mr. John Robertson published a letter in our principal scientific journals, in which he described how the *pholas dactylus* made its hole or crypt in lumps of chalk kept in sea-water in a large pan upon his balcony at Brighton. His *pholades* worked there, and many persons saw them at it. In August a paper describing his observations, experiments, and dissections, was read before the British Association at Ipswich; and Mr. Robertson exhibited his *pholades* in the Brighton Pavilion, before the members and friends of the Medical Provincial Association. Among them was the late Dr. Mantell, who had been a stout upholder of the chemical hypothesis. Prior to looking into the pan he turned to Mr. Robertson and said, 'Now tell me what is your theory?' 'No theory at all, Doctor; I only ask you to say what you see with your own eyes.' Dr. Mantell looked into the pan, into which fell at once the light of a number of candles held by an eager crowd of spectators. The *pholades* began working immediately, and the semi-rotations of the rasping valves, and the squirtings of the tubes or syphons were seen by Dr. Mantell, Mr. Levison, Mr. Arthur Wallis, and many others. Dr. Mantell exclaimed, after some minutes of silent wonder: 'Mechanical after all!'

The *pholas* is exteriorly a rasp, and interiorly a squirt, and its foot is the motor of the rasp and the piston of the squirt. These facts reveal the use, hitherto unknown, of the elastic and gelatinous style in the foot which has been described by the French anatomists as the *hyaline stylet*. Anybody living upon

the south-east coast may easily repeat the observations and experiments of Mr. Robertson, in regard to the pholades. The chief difficulty is to break the rocks carefully enough to obtain uninjured specimens. When they are obtained, take a piece of chalk and cut a hole in it with a knife, an inch and three quarters deep, and large enough to receive the pholas. If a sufficient number of these molluscs are thus placed, and daily supplied with fresh sea-water, some of them will soon show how they perforate the rocks. Now that, following the example of Mr. Robertson, and a suggestion which he submitted a year ago to Professors Edward Forbes and Richard Owen, the Zoological Society of London have opened an exhibition in the Regent's-park of living marine plants and animals, it is to be hoped the controversy will be brought to an end by a permanent show of perforating pholades.

Fishes ought to be plunged immediately into spirit or solution,—the soft-spined into solution 1, and the hard-spined into solution 2. The colours ought to be immediately noted, and especially the colours of the eyes. As for the parts to be preserved of very large fishes, this depends upon the object of the collector, and John Hunter has left directions how to cut sharks and rays to preserve the portions most worthy of study. The cloaca must be preserved in spirit.

The Port Jackson shark (*Cestracion Phillippi*), the Southern chimæra (*callorhynchus antarcticus*), and the *lepidosiren*, an eel-like fish, with filaments for fins, are mentioned by Professor Owen as desirable specimens.

Reptiles, tortoises, lizards, serpents, and frogs, are preserved much in the same way as fishes. In Mexico, the lakes are dry in summer, and the crocodiles lie torpid in the mud. Travellers pass over them without knowing they are there. Persons who desire to find them provide themselves with a harpoon, which they plunge into the mud. When they have found a crocodile, they dig under its tail and hind feet, which they rope together, and so onwards to the head. The animal is thus taken alive without any great danger. Salamanders are found in ponds, marshes, and damp places. Little lizards are caught in traps in France. A small hook attached to a horsehair string is baited with a moth, and suspended before the hole of the lizard. The lizard thus catches the moth, and the naturalist the lizard. Care is necessary to avoid breaking the tail, which is very fragile. The Germans take them in hair-nets, baited with coleoptera. The large kinds, of warm climates, are shot with buck shot. Serpents are dangerous even after they are dead and dried for years. A scratch from a fang of a dead rattlesnake or *cobra*

di capello may be fatal. The teeth of the viper are moveable, like the claws of a cat, and the venom flows along them into the wound. The remedy recommended by M. Boitard, is a dose of *alcali volatil*, or volatile salts, in a glass of water. Snakes feign to be dead when they cannot escape. When the French naturalists chase serpents they provide themselves with a leather bag, in which they place some tobacco-snuff, which kills the reptiles, pincers with a long handle, and a net attached to a handle and surrounded with small iron spikes. The vipers perish soon after being transferred from the net into the bag among the snuff: toads, frogs, and lizards are all thrown into the leather bag together. Prior to preparing the serpents, their stomachs are emptied by distending their mouths. It is in May and June that reptiles are found in the brilliant colours of their new skins.

Turtles and tortoises may be preserved dry by separating the breast-plate from the back with a saw or knife, taking out the viscera and fleshy parts, and replacing the breast-plate. Care must be taken not to cut the skin.

It is an important point to commence operations as soon as possible after the tortoise is dead, and before it has become cold and rigid.

Rare and small birds are preserved in spirit, or solution 2. As for bird-catching, it is an art in itself, and must be founded upon the habits of the kinds sought. As to kinds both rare and large, it is recommended to preserve in spirit their organs of nutrition and reproduction. When it is wished to preserve the brain, a small portion of the cranium is removed to allow the spirit to get at it.

The *os coccygis*, or rump bone, should be left with the skin, to preserve the tail. Eggs are emptied by blowing their contents through their thick end from their thin end. M. Boitard and Mr. Owen differ in regard to breaking the skull; the one says it is a mischief almost irreparable, and the other recommending it to facilitate the skinning.

Mammals of the smaller kinds, bats, shrews, and mice, are preserved in spirit, or solution 2, an opening being made in the belly to give free access to the viscera. The larger mammals must be preserved according to the circumstances of the preserver, either skinned, or in skeleton, or only the skull.

Our space is more than exhausted, and we have only introduced our readers to the art of preparing specimens of natural history. We had intended to show how fossils are identified, and how organigraphical and entomological dissections are made, how the microscope is used, and how the minutest forms

of life are revealed in the vegetable and animal worlds; but we shall conclude with a few generalizations which, if borne in the mind, will save many repetitions.

Everything evanescent must be recorded by writing or drawing, or painting or daguerreotyping, the forms and colours of eyes, skins, scales, flowers, momentary attitudes, expressive gestures, temporary appearances, &c. &c. There is here a vast field for art. Where is the artist who could represent a *beroe* in a green wave, a very iris-hued little diamond alive? But minute accuracy is what is most needed in the natural sciences, and of this every man ought to make himself capable.

Everything soft and juicy, brain, pulp, viscera, &c., can be preserved in spirit or solution. But it must always be borne in mind that blood, juice, &c., weakens the spirit, and therefore it must be replaced by fresh spirit in proportion as it has become diluted and inefficient.

The most important portions of animals are their heads and organs of nutrition and reproduction.

The chief enemies of the collector are air, dust, damp, and insects. His assistants are alum, camphor, corrosive sublimate, arsenic, spirit and heat. Whatever is exposed to air, damp, dust, or insects, will perish. He protects his specimens from dust and air by means of glass; from damp, by dissolving salt and removing fleshy parts; and from insects by camphor, terebenthine, sulphuric ether, &c., and heat.

In point of fact, every man who would observe and think for himself must be his own collector and preserver, and find out his own methods. A man may be an amusing writer or lecturer, without being a workman in the preparation of specimens. But he will never really know what he is talking about until he sees and handles the things themselves, and thus becomes practically acquainted with them. It is this sort of knowledge which forms the true describer and the happy discoverer, and trains for the performance of the feats of such men as Huber, Swammerdam, Bonnet, Reaumur, Ehrenberg, and 'Stratum Smith.'

ART. II.—*Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa.* Performed in the years 1850-51, under the Orders and at the Expense of Her Majesty's Government. By the late James Richardson, Author of 'Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara.' 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall. 1853.

THE geographical space occupied by some of the kingdoms of interior Africa is superior to that upon which many powerful empires in other parts of the world have been seated. The territories are vast, but the nations inhabiting them have never become civilized, or exerted any influence in the affairs of the world. This appears strange, when a few historical circumstances are remembered. The Goths, when they rushed out of their forests, were more savage than the negroes of Bornou. And in what characteristics of barbarism are the black population of Aheer more irremediably rude than the original tenants of the Cimbric, the Malay, or even the Arabian Chersonese? Yet the first changed the face of half Europe; the second became imperial in the richest Archipelago of the Asiatic seas; and the third gave institutions and manners to numberless millions of the human race. Meanwhile the African nations that traded with Carthage and Meröe, remain, like the lions of their desert, savage, solitary, untameable, though older than many others which have disturbed the globe, and erected for themselves immortal monuments.

The truth appears to be, that the African communities of the Sahara have decayed in changeless barbarism because they are cut off from the rest of the earth. Terrible deserts surround them. No navigable rivers lead from their pastures and mines to the ports and factories of other lands. No sea beats upon the sandy confines of their empire. They are aliens from the civilization which, on the shores of their own continent, was kindred and all but coeval with that of Rome. They have never shared the influence of those great religious, moral, and political revolutions which have changed the aspect of all other parts of the world. Nothing but the persevering toil of the caravan preserves for them an imperfect intercourse with the more fortunate nations of the coast.

Yet to these evils some advantages have been united. The populous oases of the Sahara contain within themselves abundant provision for the sustenance of man. Their inhabitants

enjoy an independence which has never been attacked. The same deserts which cut them off from friendly communication with the kindred families of mankind have been their impregnable defence against hostile armies. The Macedonian dared to enter Libya; but no Alexander ever brought a legion to melt away amid these suffocating deserts. Napoleon dreamed of battering Delhi, but not of glutting with French blood the sands of Sahara. Nor have its kingdoms enjoyed only the safeguard of poverty. They are stored with treasures which human necessities, as well as human avarice, have in all ages required. From the remotest periods, the African deserts have been celebrated for their abundance of gold. In their inhospitable depths, too, are found, sometimes in hills, sometimes in lakes, immense magazines of salt, which supply that indispensable material to an innumerable population, to the utmost limits of the continent. Many of the negro countries are entirely destitute of it. Thus a trade naturally sprang up, and had necessarily been continued with the regions of the interior. Unhappily, also, further than chronology can trace, and beyond the earliest twilight of tradition, there was carried on that base traffic in slaves which has been the scourge and curse of the land. Thus, before we existed as a nation, the kingdoms of central Africa carried on communication with the civilized world, and, ever since, the inquiries of merchants, and geographers, and philanthropists have been directed towards them. Yet they are what they were, without the religion, the manners, or the arts which younger nations have cultivated.

The friends of humanity as well as of science have at all times been solicitous to bring these kingdoms into amicable contact with the nations of Christendom. The explorations resulting from this desire, numerous and varied as they have been, are described in some of the most curious records of travel. Still they have left large spaces to be examined, and new African states to be brought within the range of European research. The last adventurer, whose Journal has been published, was Mr. James Richardson, the intrepid and philanthropic explorer of the Sahara. He fell a victim to his own unselfish zeal, but the memorial of his labours will remain for ever as an invaluable addition to our knowledge of the people, the resources, and the geography, of interior Africa. The great traverse of the desert, its wonderful physical aspects, the manners of the various tribes that inhabit it, and the character of the trade and industry which they pursue, are described in his narrative, varied, picturesque, and vivid as it is. We may at once say, that few recent works of travel are so interesting, contain so many anecdotes, or supply so much information as

the book before us. Mr. Richardson's Journals having been confided to his friend Mr. Bayle St. John, well known by his Libyan, Levantine, and Egyptian researches, they had the advantage of a literary revision by an elegant and experienced pen.

Mr. Richardson, in the commencement of 1850, started from Tripoli on a political and commercial expedition to some of the most important kingdoms of Central Africa. His route was chosen through strange and little-known countries. First it lay over the tremendous desert of the Hamadah, between Tripoli and Fezzan; then it wound over the plains of that wild province to the independent country of Ghat; thence across a frightful wilderness, haunted by marauding tribes, towards the south of the Sahara, to the kingdom of Aheer, never before explored. Here the traveller was to put himself under the protection of a powerful Sheikh, whose capital, or rather encampment, was at Tintalous. From this, in the train of the mighty salt caravan, which annually trades the desert southward, he was to proceed through Zinder to Bornou, and on to Soudan.

On the 30th of March he left Tripoli with two German doctors, Barth and Overweg, who accompanied him as scientific observers. Interpreters, janissaries, drivers, and camels, formed, of course, a little caravan, which had with it a boat built at Malta, to be launched on Lake Tchad. Tripoli breathes the very air of the desert. In half an hour the explorers were among the Sahara sands, and next day they were winding along towards the mountains, whose mineral admixtures showed in bright colours under a glaring sun. Piles of sandstone rocks broke the surface with deep, trough-like valleys, full of figtrees, almonds, aloes, and pomegranates, with vines creeping over the warm slopes, and small rivulets shining among them. As they ascended, the famished aspect of the desert was softened by intervals of cultivation. The rising country was sprinkled with thin forests of olives, and fields of wheat and barley painted with green streaks the arid yellow of the wilderness. Higher up the desolation was renewed, and the first sign of human activity which appeared was a caravan of slave-girls, who had been seventy days on their route.

'Our old black woman was soon surrounded by a troop of the poor creatures; and when she related to them how she was returning free to her own country under the protection of the English, and wished them all the same happiness, they fell round her weeping and kissing her feet. One poor naked girl had slung at her back a child with a strange look of intelligence. I was about to give her a piece of money, but could not; for the tears bursting to my eyes, I was obliged to turn

away. The sight of these fragments of families stolen away to become drudges or victims of brutal passion in a foreign land, invariably produced this effect upon me. This caravan consisted of some thirty girls and twenty camel-loads of elephants' teeth. Most of these poor wretches had performed journeys, on their way to bondage, which would invest me with imperishable renown as a traveller could I accomplish them.'—Vol. i. p. 23.

Across a desert, becoming more arid as they proceeded, but spotted with *oases*, the explorers steadily advanced towards the mighty plateau of the Hamadah, which defends with its impassable desolation the approaches of Fezzan from the north. Relics of Roman power were occasionally seen, of habitations and mausolea, built when the country was in a more prosperous condition. Every sign indicated the neighbourhood of the burning table-land in front. A hot wind swept past it, as from a furnace, baking the red clay, oppressing the camels, enfeebling the limbs of men, and half withering the scant herbage of the valleys. A few wretched families, in lingering starvation, haunt the rare patches of verdure. They have a few asses and sheep, no camels, a little barley, and some palms, 'and when the dates are out, they fast—a long continual fast—and famine takes them off one by one.'

As night closed, a pillar of sand hung over the rocky edge of the Hamadah, and seemed ready to be their guide across it. The last Roman column was passed, for even the power of that nation seemed to have stopped short at the borders of this dismal tract. Richardson chose to pass it by night travelling, for one glimpse by dawn revealed its whole aspect—a surface of red earth, scattered over with pebbles and pieces of limestone. It was a monotonous, silent, lifeless waste, devoid of all beauty. Now and then a linnet or a finch fluttered on some rare bush. Now and then a swallow came on friendly wings to the caravan. Now and then a lizard or a snake crossed the path. Now and then a mound appeared where some slave-girl had dropped and been buried.

But the whole face of the desert was like the face of death—blank, stony, without the light or breath of life. A solid crust of parched red earth, mixed with lime and flint, covered a bed of solid marl, which lay upon the sandstone foundation of the plateau. North and south, the Hamadah lies, like a broad belt intercepting commerce, civilization, and conquest between the Mediterranean and Fezzan; but east and west no explorer has reached its limits. Traversing this table-land, though its width does not exceed a hundred and sixty miles, is considered the great exploit of the journey. Beyond, however, between Aheer and Ghat, Richardson knew there lay a desert of almost equal

horror. But this took away none of the general delight, when, after days of weary toil, the iron-bound barrenness was crossed, and below appeared a pleasant plain, dotted with trees, and seeming to promise springs of cool water. This was the broad valley of El-Hassee, sandy indeed, and scantily refreshed, but most cheering and fertile in comparison with the lifeless Hamadah. More deserts succeeded, but none so utterly bleak. They were varied with patches of herbage where the camels could browse, and pools of sweet water where man and beast could drink. At last the caravan, toiling forward, came to the limits of the sandy country, and within sight of the greener tracts of Fezzan:—

‘During this last day, beyond the expanse of sandy waves, through which we swam, as it were, had risen ahead some very conspicuous mountains. Even at five in the morning we could see detached along the line of the horizon the highest and most advanced portion of the edge of the plateau of Mourzah. In three hours the white line of cliffs came in view, looking like a stretch of black-blue sea, contrasting strangely with the sparkling white sand undulation that stretched to their feet. Some of us thought that an inland sea—never before heard of—had rolled its waters across our path—so perfect was the illusion. The heavens, this day particularly, attracted our attention. What a sky! How beautiful! The ground was a soft, light azure; and on its mildly resplendent surface were scattered loosely about some downy feathery clouds, of the purest white—veils manufactured in celestial looms!’—*Ib.* p. 65.

The Pashalic of Fezzan, occupying a considerable space upon the map, is nevertheless an insignificant province, with a population of twenty-six thousand souls, scattered about in little oases separated by deserts. These are periodically traversed in all directions by caravans, which have covered the country with a perfect network of tracks. The people cultivate grain and fruit, and trade in salt, ivory, and slaves, besides cottons of Soudan and skins. The capital of Fezzan is Mourzah, containing about two thousand inhabitants, Mohammedans, living under a hard yoke. As an illustration of their manners, the following story is related:—

‘A married woman preferred another man to her husband, and frankly confessed that her affections had strayed. Her lord, instead of flying into a passion, and killing her on the spot, thought a moment and said,—

“I will consent to divorce you, if you will promise one thing.”

“What is that?” inquired the delighted wife.

“You must looloo me only when I pass on the celebration of your nuptials with the other man.”

‘Now, it is the custom for women, under such circumstances, to

looloo (that is, salute with a peculiar cry) any handsome male passer-by. However, the woman promised; the divorce took place, and the lover was soon promoted into a second husband. On the day of the wedding, however, the man who had exacted the promise passed by the camel on which the bride was riding, and saluted her, as is the custom, with the discharge of his firelock. Upon this she remembered, and loolooed to him. The new bridegroom, enraged at this marked preference, noticing that she had not greeted any one else, and thinking possibly that he was playing the part of a dupe, instantly fell upon his bride and slew her. He had scarcely done so when the brothers of the woman came up and shot him down; so that the first husband compassed ample vengeance without endangering himself in the slightest degree. This is an instance of Arab cunning.'—*Ib.* p. 92.

In this place of undisciplined passions, with a deadly climate, and the horrors of slave traffic exhibited around him, Richardson passed some days. He talked with many natives of the untrodden countries to which he was journeying,—hearing of valleys where all the people lived in caves, whence they emerged to feed their goats, and cultivate their simple crops. From the plateau of Fezzan the explorers descended to the plains lying between it and Ghat, inhabited by the martial Tuarick tribes. Here the superior interest of his narrative begins. Up to this point the Sahara had been pretty well travelled, but beyond lay a region totally unknown, with, somewhere in its depths, the strange kingdom of Aheer, perhaps half fabulous, perhaps too remote to be reached, perhaps too conjecturally fixed on the map to be discovered. But the guides were confident, and the Kafilas stretched out upon the unsearched plains, where water is so rare and so dearly desired that it is looked upon as the sacred element. A black surface of barren rock spread between the distant valleys, and no sign of life appeared except what was more melancholy than the desert—trains of hopeless slaves. Sometimes a herd of wild oxen were seen with their immense horns, and occasionally a solitary bird; but the face of the wilderness was desolate, except at night, when all its outlines softened, its arid colours were subdued, its lonely level acquired a peculiar charm, and the sky was lit by stars more large and more resplendent than are ever seen in the north. All the while, however, rumours were circulated of an attack by the roving Azgher tribes, fierce Ishmaels of the desert, who frequently appeared, now singly, now in two or three, and now in troops hovering along the horizon, and now threatening the camp or the line of march.

Varying these dangers were episodes of other kinds, which hurry along the reader of Richardson's volumes, and oblige him to confess that he is entering into one of the most singular

narratives of adventure ever published. Different from the pictures we have transferred to our pages is the following, which is very graphic:—

‘About four o’clock this afternoon, there was a cry in the encampment—not that the Haghar were coming—not that another troop of robbers and wild people were advancing to attack us—but the cry was,—“*El wady jace!*” “The wady is coming!” Going out to look, I saw a broad, white sheet of foam advancing from the south between the trees of the valley. In ten minutes after a river of water came pouring along, and spread all around us, converting the place of our encampment into an isle of the valley. The current in its deepest part was very powerful, capable of carrying away sheep and cattle, and of uprooting trees. This is one of the most interesting phenomena I have witnessed during my present tour in Africa. The scene, indeed, was perfectly African. Rain had been observed falling in the south; black clouds and darkness covered that zone of the heavens; and an hour afterwards came pouring down this river of waters into the dry, parched-up valley. This incident of Wady Zintaghoda explains the scriptural phrase “rivers of waters”; for here, indeed, was a river of waters appearing in an instant, and almost without notice.’—*Ib.* p. 248.

The kingdom of Aheer they found to be a region of granite rocks, lying far south in the Sahara, with fine valleys intersecting the more barren territories. It was ruled by the great sheikh En-noor of Tintalous, whose power was now expected to defend the travellers from dangers like those to which they had been exposed. They visited his palace immediately on arriving at his camp-capital. It was a long mud shed, in the midst of a multitude of circular huts. En-noor was a venerable black, nearly eighty years of age, and explained that his kingdom was then in anarchy, and much disturbed by robbers. Richardson gave him the presents he had brought, but he only kept for himself one blue burnous, distributing the rest among his nobles—for the savages of Aheer have an aristocracy among their institutions. ‘They may be seen,’ says our naïve traveller, ‘riding about in all directions. The members of the great families, like our European aristocrats, seem to have no other occupation. God has created the earth for this class to gallop about over.’ The generous policy of the sheikh is the secret of his authority, for the grandes are excessively avaricious, and proved this by the extortions they practised on their white visitors.

What is the social character of the people in Aheer, which may almost be said to be a country discovered by Mr. Richardson, may be imagined from an account of the relations of man and wife. A woman never leaves the home of her father. When a man marries, he remains with his bride a few weeks,

and then, if he will not take up his residence in her town or village, he must return to his own place without her. When a man sees a woman who pleases him, he offers the parents a price for her—say four camels. If they agree, the bargain is concluded. These camels always remain the property of the wife, who, when her husband visits her, gives him food, but retains for herself all the profit she acquires by sending the beasts for salt to Soudan. The men, however, marry two or three wives, and so are constantly in motion, first going to visit one wife, and then another. Thus the male population of this country is kept in a continually restless state of activity—roaming about here and there, marrying another and another wife, if their means will permit them. Such is the moral aspect of Aheer. Equally characteristic is one of the peculiar sciences of the Sahara:—

‘The study of *sau*, “footsteps” of men and animals, is quite a science in this part of the world. The Fezzannee are reckoned the most expert in this knowledge; they are said to be able to distinguish the footsteps of people when printed upon the trunk of a palm, the print-step being made by dipping the feet in water. As to animals, the people observe near the neighbouring rocks the *sau* of the lion, a very deep, heavy impression of his five claws, of the monkey, the hare, the gazelle, the fox, the jackal, the hyæna, and the mouse. Indeed, we appear to be surrounded with animals; and in the morning I found the *sau* of the dog, the cat, the hare, and the mouse, on the sandy floor of my tent.’—Vol. ii. p. 106.

Mr. Richardson’s residence at Tintalous was long and tedious. He suffered from the cupidity of the Sultan, who, however, when he had plundered him considerably became his friend. He was impatient, too, to proceed, and heard with delight that the great salt caravan was about to start southward with the Sheikh and the Christians in company. Several disappointments occurred; but eventually the mission went on to Damerghan, whence Drs. Barth and Overweg went, one to Marvadee, and the other to Kanon, while the leader of the expedition proceeded alone to Zinder, in the province of Damagram. Here the sarkee or governor received him hospitably, and he was delighted to escape from the violent rapacity of the Tuarick tribes. Melancholy pictures of slavery, however, interrupted his pleasure. He saw the chief himself going out to beat down the subjects of his own king, that he might sell them and pay his debts with the proceeds. Perhaps, in the whole narrative, there are no passages so striking as those which depict the features of the slave trade in Central Africa. What can be more sadly picturesque than this:—

‘A cry was raised early this morning, “the sarkee is coming!”

Every one went out eagerly to learn the truth. It turned out that a string of captives, fruits of the razzia, was coming in. There cannot be in the world—there cannot be in the whole world—a more appalling spectacle than this. My head swam as I gazed. A single horseman rode first, showing the way, and the wretched captives followed him, as if they had been used to this condition all their lives. Here were naked little boys running alone, perhaps thinking themselves upon a holiday; near at hand dragged mothers with babes at their breasts; girls of various ages, some almost ripened into womanhood, others still infantine in form and appearance; old men bent too double with age, their trembling chins verging towards the ground, their poor old heads covered with white wool; aged women tottering along, leaning on long staffs, mere living skeletons;—such was the miscellaneous crowd that came first; and then followed the stout young men, ironed neck to neck. This was the first instalment of the black bullion of Central Africa; and as the wretched procession huddled through the gateway into the town, the creditors of the sarkee looked gloatingly on through their lazy eyes, and calculated on speedy payment.'—*Ib.* p. 265.

The household slaves in Zinder are so chained that they cannot walk, and are obliged to move about by little jumps. The education of the men is chiefly to fit them for capturing their fellow-creatures, and thus Africa is bled at all pores by her own children, who literally forge chains for themselves from the iron which abounds in their own mountains. The freed slaves of the north join with alacrity in the inhuman expeditions, and sack the villages of their country people as remorselessly as foreign invaders.

After a considerable stay among these slave hunters, Richardson was enabled to start once more, and proceeded towards the capital of Bornou. He left Zinder in the best health, but soon began to feel that his strength was giving way. He had at this time a curious dream, about two persons falling to the ground from the boughs of a tree. A sort of dream interpreter called upon him, and offered to explain the portent of this vision. His decision was taken from a book, in which he pointed out the passage, 'And whosoever sees (in dreams) a tree fall, or anything fall from it, then will not accomplish itself the thing which is between the man who thus dreams.' The unhappy event which soon after occurred, of course strengthened the native belief in their interpreter; but it seems erroneous to suppose that the circumstance made any great impression on the traveller's mind. Soon after, however, he felt seriously ill, and was observed by his servants to take different kinds of medicine, as if he was unable to tell the nature of his malady. The heat of the sun appears to have been its principal cause; for he could never endure it well.

Early in March, 1851, when about ten days' journey from the capital of Bornou, he was at the town of Rangarvia. After a halt of three days he had determined to start next morning; but in the evening felt very tired and unwell. During the night, however, he recovered a little, and persevered in his resolution. Weakness compelled him to halt at noon, yet by sunset he rallied, and was on his path again. So he went on for a few short stages, till one evening crawling to his tent he told his dragoman that he was dying. The dragoman consoled him by saying, it was a mere passing attack; but he assured him in return that all his strength was gone, and, indeed, his pulse had almost ceased to beat. After various remedies, good and bad, applied by himself or his servants, he took a little food and tried to sleep, but could not:—

'He threw himself restlessly from one side to another, calling his wife several times by her name. After having walked out of his tent with the assistance of his servant he ordered tea, and remained restless on his bed. When it was past midnight, his old dragoman, who watched in his tent, made some coffee, in order to keep himself awake, upon which Mr. Richardson demanded a cup of coffee for himself; but his hand being so weak that he could scarcely raise the cup, he said to Mohnee, "Your office as dragoman is finished," and repeated several times, with a broken voice, "I have no strength; I have no strength, I tell you," at the same time laying Mohammed's hand upon his shoulder. Feeling death approaching he got up in a sitting posture, being supported by Mohammed, and soon expired, after three times deep breathing. He was entirely worn out, and died quietly about two after midnight, Tuesday, 4th March, without the least struggle.'—
Vol. i. p. 17.

His servant called the other people of the caravan into the tent, as well as the Kashalla, or officer of the Sheikh, who had accompanied poor Richardson from Zinder, in order to be witness. He ordered the attendants to dig a grave, and proceeded himself to wrap the body in a winding sheet, composed of three shirts cut up. All the baggage was arranged, and everything put into packets. Then, early in the morning, this enterprising traveller's remains were lifted up, wrapped in the carpet on which he had so often sat and slept, and borne towards his grave. This had been dug, though not very deep, under the shade of a large tree near the village. The earth was piled in, and the spot well secured. Every precaution has since been taken by the colleagues of Richardson, to ensure respect to his lonely resting place.

Since the Travels were published we learn that Dr. Overweg has also died, and thus the Saharan expedition added two victims to the long list of those who have perished while endea-

vouring to bring that region into communion with the civilized world, in spite of its pestilential climate. Dr. Barth, who hastened with laudable zeal to secure the possessions and papers of his fellow traveller, will, it is to be hoped, be spared to return and complete the history of this memorable expedition.

The results of Richardson's researches, as preserved in the work before us, are of the highest value. Under an able editorship, by a gentleman who is himself a traveller, and who explored the mysterious regions of Libya, they have been wrought into a narrative the most original and picturesque that can be conceived. Of their general character Mr. Bayle St. John, in his preface, gives the following estimate. Referring to the travels of Dr. Overweg, the news of whose death had not then reached him, and of Dr. Barth, he says,—

‘If they be spared to return to Europe they will bring home, no doubt, geographical information so valuable that all Mr. Richardson's predictions will be found to be amply fulfilled. As it is, however, the object of our practical fellow-countryman may be said to have been accomplished. He did not lay so much stress on the accurate determination of latitude and longitude, of the heights of mountains, and the courses of valleys, as on matters that come more nearly home to human sympathies. The abolition of the system of slavery—many affecting illustrations of which will be found in these volumes—seems to have engaged the chief of his attention. It was with this benevolent object that he originally turned his attention to Africa; and he had become convinced that the best means of effecting it was to encourage legitimate traffic between Europe and the great nurseries of slaves. Among other things he wished to show the possibility of entering into treaties of amity and commerce with the most important states of Central Africa; and although those treaties may not turn out to be of great immediate utility, it is always worth while that future explorers should know that on the borders of Lake Tchad there is a power which professes to be united with England in formal ties of friendship, and that the Sultan of Bornou has never shown any disposition to break his promises or secede from his engagements.’—Preface, p. xii.

To this, through the kindness of Mrs. Richardson, who lived in Tripoli while her husband was on his expedition, we are enabled to add a curious fact. The Sultan of Bornou has prepared an embassy to his ‘Sister’ the Queen of England. This mission is now on its way. When the letter was written in the city of Tripoli, with this news, the ambassadors of his high and mighty majesty of the Sahara were expected to arrive in a month's time, so that they must have reached the coast long ere this. When they come to England it will be a curious spectacle to witness the presentation, at the Court of St. James's, of the representatives of a half-savage potentate in the very centre

of Africa. As far as the interest of the event goes, the embassies from Koorg and Nepaul will certainly be eclipsed. We agree with Mr. Richardson's views on the subject of the slave-trade. Nothing, we think, will suppress it, unless a legitimate commerce be substituted in the Sahara. Whether this may advantageously be carried on is a problem not yet solved. We are inclined to think it may. Already, in all parts of Africa, the fruits of political and commercial mission are displayed. Harris in Abyssinia, Thompson and Allen on the Niger, and many others, have planted the prolific germs of future trade. The evidence of the eminent geographer, Macqueen, too, with respect to the western coast, bears out Mr. Richardson's theory. Whether, however, this consummation be arrived at or not, certain it is that the work we are noticing adds immensely to our knowledge of an interesting and little known region. The labours of the explorer will not, in any case, be thrown away. If commerce be not enlarged, the bounds of human knowledge will be widened, and the necessities of man, in the various states of his existence, be better understood.

ART. III.—*History of Trial by Jury.* By William Forsyth, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Author of 'Hortensius.' London: John W. Parker and Son. 1852. 8vo. pp. 468.

2. *Report from the Select Committee on the Administration-of-Justice Bill.* Printed by Order of the House of Commons.
3. *The Grand Jury: Is it a System which it is Necessary or Desirable to Abolish?* By a Member of the Middle Temple. London: Butterworth. 1852. 8vo. pp. 31.
4. *The Grand Jury System subversive of the Moral Interests of Society.* By William Campbell Sleight, Esq., Barrister-at-law. London: Sweet. 1852. pp. 54.

FEW subjects are better entitled to the attention, or more likely to enlist the interest of the inquirer after knowledge, than the history of the origin, gradual progress, and thorough development of an institution which the people of this country have for ages recognised as the keystone of their jurisprudential system. To fix the precise date of the origin of the *jury*—this 'favourite child of the English law,' as Mr. Forsyth very aptly characterizes it—has been an object of ambition with many writers. But as yet no one has succeeded; neither, indeed, is it probable that much more light will ever be thrown

on a subject so completely involved in obscurity as to have baffled the researches of the most indefatigable. M. Bourignon, in his '*Mémoire sur le Jury*,' is of opinion that *son origine se perd dans la nuit des temps*; while another learned author, the late Mr. Adam, declares that 'in England it is of a tradition so high that nothing is known of its origin; and of a perfection so absolute that it has remained in unabated rigour from its commencement to the present time.' Some have attributed its origin to the Saxons; others to the Normans; M. Meyer, again, regards the system as partly a modification of the Grand Assize established by Henry II., and partly an imitation of the feudal courts erected in Palestine by the Crusaders; and he fixes upon the reign of Henry III. as the era of its introduction into England. Blackstone, the learned author of the '*Commentaries of the Laws of England*,' says, 'it is a trial that hath been used time out of mind in this nation, and seems to be coeval with the first civil government thereof.' He adds, 'certain it is that juries were in use among the earliest Saxon colonies.' Mr. Serjeant Stephen is of opinion that the most probable theory is 'that we owe the germ of this (and of so many of our institutions) to the Normans, and that it was derived by them from Scandinavian tribunals, where the judicial number of twelve was always held in great veneration.' In this opinion Mr. Forsyth does not coincide. He believes that the Normans copied from the English, rather than the converse. Of the origin of the system, he declares it to be his opinion that it grew 'silently and gradually out of the usages of a state of society which has for ever passed away.' And, then, after reviewing the various conflicting theories of his predecessors in this investigation, the learned author says, 'I believe it to be capable almost of demonstration, that the English jury is of indigenous growth, and was not copied or borrowed from any of the tribunals that existed on the Continent.' In support of this proposition he has devoted a considerable portion of his work to an examination of the constitution of the various judicial tribunals which existed on the Continent in ancient times, and by comparing them severally with that of our own country, he appears to have succeeded in securing for England the honour of being the birthplace of that institution which has so long been the envy and admiration of European nations, forming, as it did until recently, the distinctive feature of our jurisprudence.

It is well known that to Alfred the Great has been very generally ascribed the honour of founding the jury system. This has been a popular error. Mr. Serjeant Stephen says—

'When the Anglo-Saxon memorials are carefully scrutinized, we find them to be such as even to justify a doubt whether trial by jury

(in any sense approaching to our use of the term) did actually exist among us at any time before the Norman Conquest.'

On this, Mr. Forsyth remarks—

'This statement is, I believe, short of the truth. It may be confidently asserted that trial by jury was unknown to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors; and the idea of its existence in their legal system has arisen from a want of attention to the radical distinction between the members or judges composing a court, and a body of men apart from that court, but summoned to attend it in order to determine conclusively the facts of the case in dispute. This is the principle on which is founded the intervention of a jury; and no trace whatever can be found of such an institution in Anglo-Saxon times. If it had existed, it is utterly inconceivable that distinct mention of it should not frequently have occurred in the body of Anglo-Saxon laws and contemporary chronicles which we possess, extending from the time of Ethelbert (A.D. 568—616) to the Norman Conquest. Those who have fancied that they discover indications of its existence during that period, have been misled by false analogies and inattention to the distinguishing features of the jury trial which have been previously pointed out. While, however, we assert that it was unknown in Saxon times, it is nevertheless true that we can recognise the traces of a system which paved the way for its introduction, and rendered its adoption at a later period, neither unlikely nor abrupt. This is indeed just what we might expect. Our early jurisprudence was too imperfect not to be in a transitional state. Its history is analogous to that of our constitution, which has been formed by the slow growth of ages, and is the result of experience rather than the offspring of theory. But if this be true of our political, it is still more so of our judicial, institutions. The prejudice against any sudden change in them is great. They are interwoven with the usages and customs of the people, whose rights seem to be endangered when the mode of maintaining or enforcing them is altered.'—p. 55.

Of the judicial system which existed in the Anglo-Saxon period of our history, and of the precise structure of the courts by which it was carried into effect, but very scanty information is extant. Nevertheless, Mr. Forsyth has managed to lay before his readers a very erudite and interesting sketch, dating back from the period so beautifully indicated by M. Bourignon as *la nuit des temps*, to the accession of William the Conqueror. He first describes two peculiar features in Anglo-Saxon society; the WERGILD and the FRIDBORH.

'The *Wergild*,' he says, (called also *man-bot*,) 'was a composition in money to be paid for personal injury done to another, according to the value which the law set upon his life. For amongst the Saxons, and indeed all the nations of the Teutonic family, every freeman was deemed to possess a certain pecuniary value, which varied according to his rank; and this determined the amount of compensation which he

was entitled to receive for a wound or a blow. We find it mentioned in the earliest Anglo-Saxon laws extant—those of King Ethelbert—which are full of minute regulations on the subject. Every bodily injury, from the loss of a nail to the destruction of life, had its appropriate price, which must be paid by the offender; and it was only on failure of this payment that he could be punished for his wrongful act. A regular tariff of penalties was thus established. The king had his *wergild* as well as the lowest *ceorl*. The great object of this system of pecuniary compensation for acts of violence, was to prevent the wild justice of revenge, and put a cheque upon the right of feud which was cherished amongst the Teutonic nations, as one of the inalienable rights of freedom. When a member of a family was slain, all his surviving relations felt themselves called upon to avenge his death, and they immediately became the enemies of, and in a state of feud (*fá*) with, the person who had inflicted the wound. It was therefore provided that instead of this *lex talionis*, so destructive of the peace and well-being of the community, the injured party if he survived, or his relations if he died, should be content with a money payment as a compensation, or damages, for the wrong done to him; and by a law of Alfred, if any man attempted private redress by vengeance before he had shown his readiness to accept *wergild* if offered to him, he was to be severely punished. If, however, the offender refused to pay the legal compensation, he was to be exposed to the vengeance of the injured party and his friends; and this alternative was expressed by an old Anglo-Saxon proverb, *Bicge spere of side oder bere*, “Buy off the spear or bear it.”

‘It appears also that if an affray took place and several were killed on both sides, an account was taken and balance struck of the amount of slaughter, and of the numbers and value (*wer*) of the slain. If on both sides these were equal, then no vengeance could be taken, or demand made of compensation; but if one side had sustained greater loss than the other, it was entitled to compensation (*wer* or *bot*), or vengeance to the extent of the overplus or excess.

‘But besides the payment to the injured party, there was a penalty due to the state, which was called *wite*. All crimes were by the Anglo-Saxons considered in a twofold light; first, as a damage or mischief done to the individual; next, as an offence against the peace of the whole state: the punishment, therefore, was apportioned in a twofold ratio. The injured person, or his relations, or gild brothers, received compensation for the injury done to him or them in the shape of damages. The state, or those to whom, as an especial privilege, the state had delegated this power, received the fine for the breach of the peace.’—pp. 57-9.

Mr. Forsyth next describes the *Fridborh*:—

‘In the absence of anything like an organized police for the prevention and punishment of crime, the Anglo-Saxons, in common with all the Teutonic nations, endeavoured to secure some of the blessings of a more settled state of society through the medium of the system

known in later times by the name of Frank-pledge. This word, however, is incorrect, and suggestive of error, for it is derived from *Fridborgh*, the pledge or guarantee of peace—which was corrupted into *Freoborth*, and translated by the Norman jurists, who were imperfectly if at all acquainted with Anglo-Saxon, into *liberum plegium*, instead of *pacis plegium*. It means, therefore, a 'peace pledge,' the mutual guarantee by which every member of a tithing, as well as of a *mæg* (or family), became a pledge of surety (*borh*) to the other members, as well as to the state, for the maintenance of the public peace. In the collection of laws, *Leges Edwardi-Confessoris*, there is a full account of this universal system of bail. "Another peace, the greatest of all there is, whereby all are maintained in former state, to wit, in the establishment of a guarantee which the English call *Fridborgas*, with the exception of the men of York, who call it *Tenmannetale*, that is, the number of ten men. And it consists in this,—that in all the villis throughout the kingdom all men are bound to be in a guarantee by tens, so that if one of the ten men offend, the other nine may hold him to do right."

'These members of a tithing were fellow-gildsmen, who, if a crime were committed by any of their body, were to arrest him and bring him to justice. If they thought him innocent, they were to clear him by their oaths—or if he were convicted and sentenced, they were to pay the *werigild* and *wite*—and if he fled from justice, they were to make oath that they had no guilty participation in his escape; which, if they failed to prove, they had to pay a penalty proportioned to the offence. So, on the other hand, they were entitled to receive a part of the compensation paid by a wrong doer, for any injury inflicted on a member of their gild or tithing.'—pp. 59, 60.

Of the Anglo-Saxon courts little can be ascertained with certainty. The *Fridborh*, as has been seen, was a sort of mutual guarantee association for the preservation of the public peace; the trial of persons accused of crime; the assessment of damages in cases of injury wrongfully inflicted by one person upon another. For the executive purposes of this association, families were banded together by *tens*, forming a tithing (*teothing*) the members of which were mutually responsible. Each of these tithings had a *head-man*, styled *teothings-ealdor*, or *tienheofod*, who acted as a sort of arbitrator between petty litigants; but whether he held a regularly constituted court for administering justice, Mr. Forsyth says, does not very clearly appear. The court next claiming attention was the *hundred*, which was constructed of ten of the *tithings* already mentioned. This tribunal was called in some parts of England by the name of *Wapentake*. The presiding officer, answering to judge, was denominated the *hundredes-ealdor*. This person officiated at every meeting of the court, which was held once at least in each month. It had ecclesiastical, civil, and criminal jurisdiction. In this court

trials by *ordeal* frequently took place. Next there was the *scir-gemot*, or court of the county or shire, held twice a-year. The only other Anglo-Saxon court was that of *the king*, forming a sort of court of appeal, over which the king presided, assisted by his councillors or *wittan*. This court was held only occasionally, and at such place as the monarch happened to be at the time.

Of the precise mode in which trials were conducted in the Anglo-Saxon courts we know but little ; but Mr. Forsyth gives some interesting examples, of which we select the following :—

‘ A large meeting or court (*magna concio*) was held at Witlesford in Cambridgeshire, over which Ægelwin, the caldorman, presided. When all were seated, one Wensius, a relation of Wulfrie, rose and laid claim to two hydes of land at Swaffham of which he said that he and his kinsman had been unjustly deprived, and had not been paid their value. Upon this, Ægelwin, the president, asked the assembly if there was any one present who knew how Wulstan (the party in possession) had become the owner of the land. Alfrie of Wicham answered that Wulstan had bought it from Wensius the claimant for eight pounds, which he paid him in two sums, at two different times, and that the last of these sums was sent to him by the hands of Leofwin, the son of Ædulph, who gave him the money in the presence of eight hundreds in the southern part of Cambridgeshire, where the lands in dispute lay. To prove the truth of this assertion, Alfrie vouched as witnesses the inhabitants of those eight hundreds, and the court having heard their evidence, decided against the claimant.’—pp. 70, 71.

Passing on to the consideration of the judicial system which obtained in England after the Conquest, Mr. Forsyth says, that there is a complete absence of all mention of the jury system until one hundred years subsequent to the accession of William ; and it certainly does appear, as he asserts, incredible, that so important a feature of our jurisprudence, if it had been known, should not have been alluded to in the various compilations of law which were made in the reigns of the early Norman kings.

The first well authenticated judicial proceeding in which a mode of trial prevailed at all analogous to the trial by jury was in William the Conqueror’s reign, when *twelve men* were summoned to decide the suit in question. But that the tribunal here referred to should be regarded as even the prototype of the jury of modern times, Mr. Forsyth is extremely unwilling to allow. ‘ It would,’ he says, ‘ be much more correct to say that the jury trial, in its form of an inquest by twelve men summoned to determine by their verdict a disputed fact, was unknown in the time of the Conqueror.’

Here it may be as well to remark that ‘jurors’ in the times

of which we are now speaking were not, as in our day, men indifferently drawn from the community to decide upon the evidence of witnesses brought before them, but were chosen rather on account of their own supposed knowledge of the facts of the case. Hence, in the Anglo-Norman period, 'although the form of the jury did not then exist, the rudiments of that mode of trial may be distinctly traced.* Jurors were summoned from the neighbourhood where the dispute arose, and were sworn to 'testify to the facts within their own knowledge.' Hence upon the jurors of this period devolved the double duty of testifying to facts, and deciding, upon their own testimony, in favour of one of the litigant parties. They were sworn not to say anything false, *nor knowingly conceal the truth*; and by knowledge, says Glanvill, was meant what they had seen or heard by trustworthy information. That these jurors were regarded as mere witnesses, whose duty was to decide upon their own knowledge, and not upon that of others, is made very manifest by the fact that, if of the twelve summoned to decide the case any were ignorant of the facts in dispute, they were substituted for by others who were personally aware of them.

The practical establishment of the system of trial by jury in its present distinct form was, doubtless, the subject of positive enactment, and not the mere offspring of custom or usage, although the elements of which it was composed were all familiar to the jurisprudence of the time.† Glanvill, the earliest British juridical writer, speaks of this tribunal in terms which well warrant this opinion, for he styles it *institutio regalis*, from which we may clearly infer that it was a tribunal erected by the monarch, with the concurrence of his council.

And here it is worthy of remark that the popular error which ascribed the establishment of the jury system to Alfred the Great, was prevalent until the result of very modern researches exploded that notion, and is now pretty generally superseded by the opinion that trial by jury, in its present distinctive form, was first practised in the reign of Henry II. It must not, however, be supposed that the exact number of *twelve* always constituted a jury in the infancy of the institution. That that was the usual number is beyond doubt, but instances are not wanting to convince us that, according to local custom or convenience, the number varied.‡ In Henry the Second's reign we find it recorded that *six* knights were summoned to try whether the monastery at Bury St. Edmund's was legally liable to pay a proportion of a fine which was imposed upon

* Forsyth, p. 108.

† Ibid. p. 122.

‡ Ibid. p. 131.

the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.* Jocelin records in his chronicle, another trial by *sixteen* lawful men of the hundred.†

We have already alluded to the fact that, in the infancy of the jury system the functions of the jury were twofold: to testify of their own knowledge, and thereupon likewise to decide between the litigating parties. But as trial by jury became more in request in the decision of disputes, and the theory of jurisprudential inquiry was elaborated, the province of the jury was restricted to the mere determination of questions of fact on the evidence of witnesses, wholly irrespective of any personal knowledge on the part of the jurors themselves. It must not, however, be supposed that this limitation of the functions of a jury was effected suddenly. By no means; on the contrary, it was a work of time, not fully accomplished until a comparatively recent period.

In the fifteenth century, during the reign of Henry VI., Lord Chancellor Fortescue wrote a work entitled ‘*De laudibus Legum Angliæ*,’ in which he describes the jury system as it existed in his time; and from the following paragraphs it will be abundantly evident that, substantially, trial by a jury of twelve men was then in as full force and vigour as it is at the present day:—

‘Whensoever the parties contending in the King’s courts are come to the issue of the plea upon the matter of fact, the justices forewith, by virtue of the King’s writ, write to the sheriff of the county where the fact is supposed to be, that he would cause to come before them at a certain day by them appointed, twelve good and lawful men of the neighbourhood where the fact is supposed, who stand in no relation to either of the parties who are at issue, in order to inquire and know upon their oaths, if the fact be so as one of the parties alleges, or whether it be as the other contends it with him. At which day the sheriff shall make return of the said writ before the same justices, with a panel of the names of them whom he had summoned for that purpose. Twelve good and true men being sworn, in the manner above related, legally qualified neither suspected by, nor at variance with either of the parties; all of the neighbourhood; there shall be read to them, in English, by the court, the record and nature of the plea, at length, which is depending between the parties; and the issue thereupon shall be plainly laid before them, concerning the truth of which, those who are so sworn are to certify the court: which done, each of the parties, by themselves or their counsel, in presence of the court, shall declare and lay open to the jury all and singular the matter and evidences, whereby they think they may be able to inform the court concerning the truth of the point in question; after which each of the parties has liberty to produce before the court all such witnesses

* Chron. Jocelin de Brakelonde, p. 48.

† Ibid. pp. 37, 38.

as they please, or can get to appear on their behalf; who being charged upon their oaths, shall give in evidence all that they know touching the truth of the fact concerning which the parties are at issue; and, if necessity so require, the witnesses may be heard and examined apart, till they shall have deposed all that they have to give in evidence; so that what the one has declared shall not inform or induce another witness of the same side, to give his evidence in the same words, or to the very same effect. The whole of the evidence being gone through, the jurors shall confer together, at their pleasure as they shall think most convenient, upon the truth of the issue before them; with as much deliberation and leisure as they can well desire, being all the while in the keeping of an officer of the court, in a place assigned them for that purpose, lest any one should attempt by indirect methods to influence them as to their opinion, which they are to give into the court. Lastly, they are to return into court and certify the justices upon the truth of the issue so joined, in the presence of the parties (if they please to be present), particularly the person who is plaintiff in the cause. What the jurors shall so certify, in the laws of England is called the verdict. In pursuance of which verdict the justices shall render and form their judgment.'

And here it may not be amiss to inquire into the origin of the use of the word *venue*, always introduced in the introductory part of declarations in civil, and indictments in criminal, proceedings. It will be remembered that in the early stage of our system of trial by jury, the jurors were sworn to find their verdict *of their own knowledge*. Hence they were summoned from the vicinity (*vicinetum*) of the place where the cause of action arose, or the crime was alleged to have been committed. This was obviously necessary. Hence, at the commencement of the instruments just referred to, we find the name of the city or county in which the action is brought, or the person indicted, and this is termed the *venue*, indicating the place from which the jurors must be summoned to try the cause, or the prisoner, as the case may be.

Having traced the history of the jury system from its origin, Mr. Forsyth proceeds to the consideration of its more interesting incidents. The mode by which the attendance of jurors is secured is by a writ, issued by the court, and directed to the sheriff of the county, commanding him to have *the bodies of the jurors* in court on a certain day. The sheriff, in compliance with the exigency of this writ, issues his summonses to persons duly qualified to serve as jurors, and whose names are entered annually in the 'Jurors' Book.' In case of disobedience, without lawful excuse, the court is empowered by statute to impose a fine on every absent juryman, and, if necessary, issue a distress warrant to compel payment. Whenever, therefore, a sufficient number of jurors does not appear, the deficiency is made up by

calling upon the bystanders in court to enter the jury-box and be sworn. This proceeding is technically designated 'praying a jury *tales de circumstantibus*,' because the statute by which it is regulated enacts that it shall be lawful for the court, on *request* of either party, to command the sheriff to make up the deficiency in the manner just stated.

The precise period at which the distinction between *common* and *special* juries arose, appears to be a matter of great uncertainty. Although no mention of special juries is made in any act of parliament prior to the reign of George II., yet Mr. Forsyth is of opinion that they were in use at a very early date; and that he is correct in so supposing is rendered highly probable, by the fact that, until very recently, jurors qualified to act as common jurors are for the most part indifferently educated, and quite unfit to determine questions of an intricate nature, involving great interests. Hence it was obviously necessary to secure, in important causes, a superior class of men, who were consequently styled *special* jurors, and who are chosen from persons described in the jurors' books as esquires, persons of higher degree, bankers, and merchants. Either party in a cause is entitled to a special jury. The mode in which the special jury is chosen is thus. The attorneys on both sides, together with the under-sheriff, attend before the proper officer of the court with the special jurors' list. On separate tickets are written the names of the jurors, corresponding with the sheriff's list. These tickets are put into a box and shaken, and forty-eight are taken out by the officer of the court. To any of these names either party may object on ground of incapacity. If the objection be allowed, another name is substituted. From this list of forty-eight each party has the privilege of striking off, in turn, and in the presence of the same officer, twelve names. The remaining twenty-four are then summoned by the sheriff to attend on the day of trial.* A special jury costs the party demanding it about twenty-five pounds. Each special juror receives one guinea for his services in each cause on which he is sworn. A *common* juror does not receive any remuneration.

Before the jurors are sworn either party has a right of 'challenge,' which is the term applied to the exercise of that most important privilege of the suitor, which enables him to exclude from the jury-box any one to whom he may reasonably object. But this power is necessarily limited. There are two descriptions of challenges. One is 'to the *array*,' that is to the whole array of names furnished by the sheriff, and is made

* Stephen's Blackstone, iii. 591.

personal to the sheriff; as, for example, that he has been actuated by private or political motives in selecting the jurors. If this challenge be deemed well founded by two persons called *triors* appointed by the court to decide upon it, the whole array is quashed, and a new jury impanelled. A case occurred in the Court of King's Bench, in the year 1821, in which a challenge of this description was successfully exercised by the defendant, one Dolby, who was indicted for a seditious libel.* The defendant urged that he was prosecuted by a society called the 'Constitutional Association,' of which one of the sheriffs who returned the jury was a member. The court appointed two *triors* to ascertain whether the allegation was well founded. Witnesses having been examined, and counsel on both sides having addressed the *triors*, the Lord Chief Justice summed up, leaving them to decide the matter upon which issue had been joined. They thereupon found in favour of the challenge, upon which the court quashed the panel, and the case was adjourned. But in modern days this proceeding seldom takes place. The other description of challenge 'to the polls' is that which is most frequently resorted to. It consists in an objection to the juror on either of the following grounds, as classed by Lord Coke:—1. *Propter honoris respectum*; as where a lord of parliament is impanelled on a jury; 2. *Propter defectum*; as in the case of an alien born, who is therefore incompetent; or the want of sufficient estate to qualify the juror; 3. *Propter affectum*; on well grounded suspicion of bias or partiality; 4. *Propter delictum*; where a juror has been convicted of an offence that affects his credit as a 'good and lawful man.' But in criminal cases of the graver nature, such as treason and felony, the prisoner has the right to challenge peremptorily, and without assigning any reason whatever, thirty-five of the jurors in a case of treason, and twenty in murder or other felony. And even after he has exhausted his privilege, he may go on challenging the jurors on special grounds, or, as it is called, 'for cause.' In offences below felony, that is, in misdemeanors, the prisoner has no right to challenge any of the jury, except on one of the grounds before-named. It may be not uninteresting here to state that the Queen has no right to a peremptory challenge; she can only challenge 'for cause,' but she is not bound to show the cause until the whole panel be gone through, and it appear that there will not be a full jury without the persons challenged.†

Having now made ourselves acquainted with the various in-

* Rex v. Dolby, 1 Car. and Kir. Rep., 238.

† Reg. v. Geach, 9 Car. and P. Rep., 499.

cidents to the formation of a perfect jury, we may direct our attention to the peculiarities appertaining to the different *species* of the system itself; for the system, in a comprehensive sense, may not inaptly be styled a *genus* of which there are several *species*. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the jury system was originally adapted to the disposal of disputes of a *civil* nature merely. The precise period when the intervention of a jury in criminal cases between the accuser and the accused was had recourse to, it is impossible to ascertain. The modes by which the guilt or innocence of a person charged with crime was determined in the remoter periods of our history were *compurgation*, the *ordeal*, either of hot iron or boiling water, or the *corsnaed*.* There is no trace of a jury in criminal cases prior, nor for some time subsequent, to the Conquest. The presentment of persons suspected of crime, by functionaries analogous to our present grand jurors, was in practice long before the adaption of the jury system to the trial of offenders. Without, then, following Mr. Forsyth through his elaborate inquiry as to when and by what degrees the jury was adapted to the trial of criminals, we may leave this point by quoting the following passage from page 207 of our learned author's work:—'In the reign of Edward III., trials by jury in criminal cases were nearly, if not quite, the same as at the present day. As an instance may be mentioned the trial of Sir Thomas de Berkeley by a jury of twelve knights, on the charge of having abetted the murder of Edward II.'

The first peculiarity of the jury system which is deserving of notice is the precise number of which it is necessary, according to law, that it should consist. Why the number required should be *twelve*, it is interesting to inquire. Precedent usually governs practice. And so it is in the jury system; for we find that amongst the Scandinavian nations *twelve* was the favorite number constituting a court. So among the Anglo-Saxons, the *twelve* senior thanes were to go out, and the reeve with them, and swear on the relic given to them in hand, that they would accuse no innocent man. Again, *twelve* 'lahmen' were to administer the law between the British and the Angles. In the days of compurgation, in cases of importance, the number of compurgators was *twelve*. And this number prevailed equally on the Continent.† From these facts it is not difficult to conjecture how it came to be an esta-

* This description of the *ordeal* consisted in making the accused person swallow a piece of bread, accompanied with a prayer that it might choke him if guilty. Godwin, Earl of Kent, and father of Harold, was believed to have died in the act of attempting to swallow the *corsnaed*.—Forsyth, p. 81.

† Forsyth, p. 240.

blished rule that a jury for the trial of an issue of fact, whether civil or criminal, should consist of twelve persons. This, however, is not the only solution which has been afforded to the question, what gave rise to the rule as to the number of twelve; for an author who wrote, in 1682, a 'Guide to English Juries, by a person of Quality' (attributed to Lord Somers), suggests, that 'the jury is reduced to the number of twelve, like as the prophets were twelve, to foretell the truth; the apostles twelve to preach the truth; the discoverers twelve, sent into Canaan to seek and report the truth; and the stones twelve, the heavenly Hierusalem is built on; and as the judges were twelve anciently to try and determine matters of law; and always when there is any waging law, there must be twelve to swear in it; and also as for matters of state, there were formerly twelve counsellors of state.' Which of the foregoing theories is the more consistent with sound sense and probability, it is not worth while here to stop and discuss.

The rule that a jury must return a unanimous verdict is next worthy of consideration. To ascertain the origin of this rule, of the propriety of which, in a jurisprudential point of view, we shall have to say something presently, is not a matter of difficulty. 'Bearing in mind,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'that the jury system was, in its inception, nothing but the testimony of witnesses informing the court of facts supposed to lie within their own knowledge, we see at once that to require that twelve men should be unanimous was simply to fix the amount of evidence which the law deemed to be conclusive of a matter in dispute.' And this appears to be not merely a feasible, but the only rational mode of accounting for the origin of a rule of at least questionable propriety. For in every other assembly of persons, the decision upon a matter or question is invariably arrived at by a majority of the persons constituting the assembly. True it is, in some instances a bare majority is insufficient; two-thirds or other proportion is required; but in no case, save that of a jury impanelled to try an issue, is perfect unanimity required. It should, however, be here observed, that in old times, the rule was to a certain extent now and then infringed; for if eleven jurors were agreed, and the twelfth jurymen was of a different opinion from his fellows, the verdict of the eleven and the verdict of the one were severally recorded, effect being given to the verdict of the eleven, while the dissentient juror was sent to gaol!* But in the reign of Edward III. (41 Ass. ii.), it was decided that a verdict from less than twelve was a nullity, and Mr. Forsyth tells us that the court said the judges of assize

* Bro. Abridgment, Jurors, part 53. Fitzherbert's Abr. Verdict, 40.

ought to carry the jury about with them in a cart until they agreed! At the present day, the rule as to unanimity is strictly adhered to, and in no case can it be disregarded, unless, indeed, the litigant parties mutually consent to receive the verdict of the majority—a course sometimes adopted.

The late Jeremy Bentham well remarked: 'If the work of forming verdicts had been the work of calm reflection, working by the light of experience, in a comparatively mature and enlightened age, some number certain of affording a majority on one side—viz., an odd number—would on this, as on other occasions, have been provided; and to the decision of that preponderating number would, of course, have been given the effect of the conjunct decision of the whole.'*

Of the expediency of the rule in question grave doubts have been frequently expressed. However desirable it is that all the members of a tribunal should agree in one view of the case referred to them for their opinion, yet it is by no means clear that the ends of truth are best subserved by requiring complete unanimity amongst them.

And here it may be advisable to refer, parenthetically, to another striking peculiarity incident to the jury system, and which is inseparable from the rule of unanimity—viz., the rule that a jury, during its deliberations, shall be confined in a room, under the charge of a bailiff, who is sworn not to allow any one to speak to them, nor to speak to them himself, except to ask them if they have agreed upon their verdict, and not to allow them '*meat, drink, or fire, candlelight only excepted.*' The observance of this rule, to say the least, looks very like a process of coercion, whereby one portion of the jury may be constrained, possibly in violation of their conscientious opinion, to accede to the verdict of the other.

We now return to the consideration of the propriety of the rule requiring unanimity, on which point Mr. Forsyth has devoted several pages of his valuable work, entering fully into the arguments *pro* and *con*, and after urging in favour of the relaxation of the rule, the fact, that when the judges either of the courts of common law or chancery differ, the opinion of the majority prevails; when the House of Lords sits as a court of appeal, or as a criminal court to try a peer, a bare majority of one is sufficient to determine the judgment: he asks, 'why the rule should be different for twelve jurors, and why, if there be a single dissentient amongst them, no verdict can be given?' Why, indeed! At first blush it appears preposterous. True it is, as has been urged in favour of the rule,

* Art of Packing, as applied to Special Juries. By Jeremy Bentham.

it secures discussion amongst a jury who are divided in opinion, and thus precipitancy is guarded against. But as a set-off to this argument, we may well refer to the fact, not capable of denial, that oftentimes the division amongst a jury is in the proportion of eleven to one, *that one*, if not influenced by personal or corrupt motives, being a man of strong prejudices and weak judgment, upon whose mind argument and reason have no effect in altering a prejudiced and foregone opinion. Upon this point, her Majesty's Commissioners, in their 'First Report upon the Courts of Common Law,' in 1830, say: 'There is reason to apprehend that where any of them happen to be actuated by partial motives, it must tend to produce a *corrupt* verdict. Indeed, no one can have been much conversant with courts of justice, without having frequently heard the remark (where the verdict has been long in suspense), that one or other of the contending parties has a *friend upon the jury*.' The commissioners proceed to notice a reason in favour of the rule requiring unanimity:—'In the event of any difference of opinion, it secures a discussion. . . . Any one dissentient person can compel the other eleven fully and calmly to reconsider their opinions.' The commissioners then declare it as their opinion that 'the interests of justice manifestly require a change of law upon this subject.' They say, that after a certain period of time, sufficiently long for the purposes of reasonable and ample discussion, it is not expedient to continue a divided jury in confinement, and they therefore propose, that the jury shall not be kept in deliberation longer than twelve hours, unless at the end of that period they unanimously concur to apply for further time; and that if, at the end of such twelve hours, or longer time, nine of the jury shall be agreed on a verdict, such shall be recorded by the court, and shall entitle the party in whose favour it is to the judgment of the court.

Twenty-three years have elapsed since this recommendation of royal commissioners was laid before parliament, yet, strange to say, the law remains unaltered.

But, within the present year, another royal commission, appointed to inquire into the process, &c., of the superior courts of common law, has, in its second report to the Crown, recommended the *retention* of the rule requiring unanimity! So that, with these conflicting recommendations of royal commissioners, it is hardly probable that any alteration will speedily be made in the practice in this respect. At the same time, they recommend an alteration in the rule requiring that the jury should be kept without refreshment during their deliberations. So far, this is a move in the right direction, for most assuredly, to use the words of the Commissioners, the unanimity brought about by means of the coercive practice in question is often-

times 'the unanimity, not of conviction, but of exhausted powers—not of intelligence, but of incapacity of physical endurance. The juryman is tempted to escape from prolonged hunger and suffering by compromising his conscience and his oath, and the judge is compelled to receive such a verdict as unanimous.'

Of the different species of jury, there remain to be noticed the coroner's jury, the jury *de medietate linguæ*, and the Grand Jury.

The coroner's jury is summoned by the officer known as the *Coroner*, in cases where persons have come by their death suddenly, or in a suspicious manner. The earliest statute which regulates the mode of taking a coroner's inquest was passed in the reign of Edward I. (1276). The number sworn on the jury may be upwards of twelve, but that number must agree to a verdict. The office of coroner is of very great antiquity.

Of the jury *de medietate linguæ* we may briefly describe it as a jury one moiety of the members of which are aliens, and the other moiety denizens. It is a generous privilege accorded to foreigners by the laws of England, that if such a one charged with crime choose to demand it, he shall be tried by a jury composed of six aliens and six denizens. Mr. Forsyth traces the origin of this species of jury to Edward I.'s reign,

The grand jury lastly claims our attention. It is that tribunal which is placed between the subject and the petit jury in cases of criminal charge. It is distinguished from the petit jury as being the *accusing*, while the latter is the *trying* jury. Of the precise time when two juries first existed it is not pretended by any writer to fix the date. Professor Christian says, that although this is 'one of the most important, yet it is certainly one of the most obscure and inexplicable parts of the law of England.' Mr. Forsyth does not coincide with the professor, but appears to incline to the opinion that the grand inquest was known as a distinct tribunal prior to the reign of Edward III., and certainly in that monarch's reign. The grand jury consists of twenty-three persons, summoned by the sheriff. The functions of the grand jury consist in their power to present to the court bills of indictment in the case of persons against whom *prima facie* evidence has been adduced that an offence has by them been committed. Of the twenty-three grand jurors *twelve* may present a bill of indictment as a *true bill*, or *ignore* it, without the concurrence of the other eleven. The reason of this is, that twelve agreeing may constitute a majority, for 'it is a maxim of the English law,' says Blackstone, 'that no man can be convicted of any capital offence [or any felony] unless by the unanimous voice of twenty-four of his equals and neighbours: that is, by twelve at least of the grand jury in the first place assenting to the accusation, and

afterwards by the whole petit jury, of twelve more, finding him guilty.*

The mode of proceeding before the grand jury is simply this.—After having received from the presiding judge a charge explanatory of their duties, they retire to their room, and such bills of indictment as are brought into the office of the clerk of the court are laid before them. On the back of each bill are the names of the witnesses to support the charge. These the grand jury call before them, and examine, and if they consider the evidence strong enough to raise a presumption of guilt against the accused, they find the bill a *true* one, and endorse upon it '*true bill*,' and so present it to the court, whereupon the accused is put upon his trial before the petit jury. If, however, the grand jury do not deem the charge well founded, they *ignore* the bill, and present it to the court, endorsed '*not a true bill*.'

Latterly the expediency of retaining the *grand jury* as part of the machinery of criminal jurisprudence has been very warmly discussed. Last year, the then Attorney-general, Sir Frederick Thesiger, endeavoured to procure its abolition in the metropolitan districts. In his efforts, however, he failed. Since then two pamphlets have appeared, the respective titles of which head this article. Into a discussion of the merits of these publications, this article having already exceeded its anticipated limits, we have not space to enter. That by a '*Member of the Middle Temple*' we believe to be the production of a highly esteemed officer of the Central Criminal Court, and while we cannot concur with him in his wish that the grand jury may be retained, yet we feel bound to say his pamphlet will repay perusal, as well for the information it contains, as for the clear and forcible style in which the author urges his arguments in favour of the system. At page 10, he says:—

'The constitutional advantages of the system are, that it has protected and may again be indispensable to protect the subject from the expense and oppression of unjust accusation, and that it preserves to the people the inestimable prerogative of putting upon their trial the ministers and officers of the sovereign, for violation of the law.

'It has also the minor advantage of ignoring and preventing the further prosecution of frivolous charges of crime, and thereby saving to the country the expenses incident to further procedure. And if, as we assert, these advantages exist, and are self-evident, and inasmuch as the grand jury is a thing established, and forms an integral part of the jury system itself, it lies upon the opponents of the tribunal to prove that the benefits are imaginary, that the grand jury is injurious, or that its advantages are more than counterbalanced by its defects.'

* Forsyth, p. 220.

On the other hand, Mr. Sleigh, the barrister, in his letter to the Home Secretary, says, he undertakes—

‘By the aid of facts and figures which cannot be gainsayed, to prove, beyond all question, that the grand jury system—as worked out in the metropolitan district—is fraught with mischief, whether in the prosecution of the guilty, or the emancipation of the innocent: that while it acts as a protection and a shield to the former, it is a terror, and an instrument of extortion, as regards the latter.’ Mr. Sleigh says he is ‘well aware that the advocates for the preservation of the institution urge strongly its ‘time-hallowed’ claims on modern consideration: that it is one of the “guarantees of liberty in this favoured country:” one of those “bulwarks of the Constitution,” whereby the subject is protected from “unjust imprisonment, false accusation, and illegal condemnation.”’ But, he says, ‘the days are past when the grand jury might fairly be recognised and eulogised as a “guarantee of liberty,”—days when Bromleys, Pembertons, and Jefferies sat upon the judicial bench, and hesitated not to threaten, coerce, and fine jurors, both grand and petit: when no stipendiary magistracy was in existence; the men then filling the magisterial office being mostly creatures of the government of the hour—slaves to their respective political patrons; of very limited education, and still more limited legal acquirements; who were paid by ‘fees,’ hence styled ‘*trading justices*,’—and who were, withal, not over scrupulous in their judicial conduct. In those days, indeed, such an institution as the grand jury was indispensable as a “protection from unjust imprisonment and false accusation;” but we live in different times—under a vastly different *régime*; ours is an age of refinement and civilization, forming an unmistakable contrast with the dark and semi-barbarous period when the grand jury was really and in fact a boon and a protection to the people. The magisterial bench is now occupied by men whose education and legal acquirements eminently qualify them for the efficient discharge of their duties,—responsible to the government and the public for their conduct,—and ever acting under the *surveillance* of a vigilant and unsparing press.’

Mr. Sleigh then proceeds to lay before the Home Secretary an abundance of evidence in support of his rather startling proposition, that ‘the grand jury is subversive of the moral interests of society.’ Amongst the many witnesses the learned gentleman presses into his service is the late Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Denman, who characterizes the institution as an ‘anomalous excrescence attached to our courts of civil law.’ But this article has already far exceeded its anticipated limits, so we must, at all events for the present, leave this interesting subject; but in so doing, we cannot take leave of Mr. Forsyth’s elaborate work without expressing sincere regret that we have not been able to lay before our readers more copious extracts from a production which need only be read to be appreciated.

ART. IV.—*Journal of a Tour in Ceylon and India, undertaken at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society, in Company with the Rev. J. Leechman, M.A.; with Observations and Remarks.* By Joshua Russell. London: Houlston and Stoneman.

IN a former number we noticed with approbation Mr. Freeman's 'Tour in South Africa,' and are glad to find that it has circulated extensively. The appointment in his case was of a similar kind with that of Mr. Russell and Mr. Leechman, but his narrative partakes more of the strictly missionary character than the present volume, whose author verges towards the path of the general traveller. It is occupied, however, very considerably with missionary details, and probably might have been more so, had not a report of proceedings been previously and specifically given to the Committee of the Baptist Society. Neither the one nor the other, however, is the official report; and we must regard it, therefore, much as a book of travels with a religious object.

In the general construction of Mr. Russell's volume, we cannot help regretting the absence of literary skill. He is evidently no practised writer, and, instead of working up his materials into an engaging as well as instructive narrative, he appears in many places simply to have copied, from a note-book, his dottings and memoranda. The consequence is abrupt transitions, and mere fire-side remarks. We have no objection to a conversational style in narrating a travelling expedition, and perhaps it is generally preferable to that which is more elaborate and ornate; but we cannot be pleased with inelegance, incorrectness, and the introduction of insignificant circumstances. When a person writes for the public, especially in connexion with an important undertaking, we do think he should aim to write better than he would talk in the carelessness of private conversation. Let not this remark, however, deter our readers from perusing the work before us; for, whatever its literary faults, it possesses substantial value. All who are interested in missionary operations in India may consult it with much advantage, as they will find useful, and, we have no doubt, faithful statements of the present condition of the Baptist Missionary Society there; and, what is specially important in our view, a confirmation of the frequently reported fact of the diminution of the influence which idolatry has exerted for so many ages upon the heathen mind.

Ceylon, which was first visited, presents altogether a scene,

the contemplation of which must afford much satisfaction to the members of the Society, whose agents have been very diligent and successful there. The zeal and usefulness of the late Mr. Daniel in particular, has earned for him the grateful remembrance of many.

‘Ceylon is a fine, open, and inviting field for a Christian mission: and our mission there has been and is being blessed by God. Many converts are the seals of His approbation. Faithful servants of our blessed Lord, sent out by our society, have finished their course with joy; and before the Throne can humbly and gladly say, “Here are we and the children whom Thou hast given us.” Our present superintendent is an indefatigable labourer, judicious and successful in his efforts; but he needs two or three European associates to sustain and extend the work, especially to train pious and talented natives. Let us take courage and go forward.’—p. 43.

Our author’s course in India embraced most of the principal cities, as Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Dacca, and Delhi. Some of his incidental allusions to places and scenery are among the best parts of the volume. The description, for instance, of the Fort and Taj Mahal, at Agra, is very good; and we can only regret that we have not space to quote it. Thence he proceeded to Muttra, where the great temple of Krishna tempts another account of splendid edifices and noisy worshippers. He remarks, that idolatry presents more of earnestness on the part of the people and more of zeal on the part of the priests in the upper provinces than in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. No particular reason is assigned for this fact; but we should presume that it may in a considerable degree arise from the absence or presence of Christianity in these localities; in that case, it ought to stimulate the Christian world to more extensive efforts for the spread of the gospel in places where Satan’s seat is. The machinery of Christian missions is, alas! at present worked by few hands—few even in the most visited and best cultivated places. Where hundreds of thousands never see or hear of a missionary, darkness will continue to cover the earth till the day of evangelical light dawns.

The following statement respecting Benares is encouraging:

‘When Mr. Smith first went to Benares, he could not venture into the street, but preached out of his window; and when, some time after, he was baptising in the Ganges, a man came behind him, and attempted to strike him with a large stick. We can bear testimony to the different feeling which prevails now; for we walked with him several times about the city. He has grown old in the service of the Lord; his step is slow and feeble. Everywhere he was greeted with salaams and kind looks. One day we went to a place where four streets met; the two native preachers were with us. We all stood

before an empty house; a large tree at the opposite corner spread its branches nearly across; beautiful parrots were flashing their wings in the sunshine; a temple of Maha Deo was in view; many people were passing, and several in their bazaars, within hearing. One of the assistants and Mr. Smith successively addressed the people, who varied in number from forty to eighty. One man spoke out in a kind of surprise, saying, "Why, if all men were good, there would be no need of magistrates or police;" a state of things, the possibility of which seemed to be beyond his comprehension. On leaving, we said to those near us, "Salaam;" when they said one to another, "These are good sahibs; they say 'Salaam' to us."

'Two orphan children were under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Smith when we were there, a boy and a girl. The boy, when an infant, was found exposed in the woods, and brought to Mrs. Smith. How beautifully, and with what graceful action, did that little olive-coloured orphan boy repeat his hymns! One was about eyes and ears, and mouth and breast; that all of them should be employed for God. He pointed towards each as he repeated the word; and then, folding his arms quietly on his bosom, continued without faltering as to a single word. The old missionary, with his voice somewhat tremulous, and a young woman, whom they have also brought up, sang one or two of Dr. Watts's sweet hymns; and it was deeply interesting to hear—

"Before Jehovah's awful throne,
Ye nations bow with sacred fear,"

while the Ganges was rolling by our side, and tens of thousands of idolaters all around. May God hasten the happy day when they will become worshippers at his mercy-seat!—pp. 111, 112.

Mr. Russell gives a pleasing account of the state of religion at Monghyr, long the frontier town of the English dominions in India. There is a neat English chapel connected with the mission, and two native chapels, one for converts, the other for preaching to the heathen. We were rather disappointed in not finding anything respecting the Rajmahal Hills, in the neighbourhood, where some useful efforts were, we believe, formerly made by the visitation of missionaries.

The Serampore station is pronounced to be, and we believe very truly, one of the most useful connected with the Society. The college there was formed for the propagation of religious and useful knowledge, and is nobly fulfilling its purpose. The deputation saw all the classes while engaged in their ordinary employments, and were struck with the intelligent countenances of many of the lads, of whom a large proportion were the children of brahmins. The examinations both in classical literature and biblical theology were highly satisfactory.

The stations in the villages south of Calcutta were visited in company with Mr. G. Pearce, and conversations were held which elicited pleasing facts, and afforded evidence of the

sound principles of professing natives. The chapel at Lucky-antipur is substantial and handsome. Interesting services were conducted there on the Sabbath. The neighbouring schools at Dhan Kata seem to be in a good state. The same may be said of other places; and while unquestionably the preaching of the gospel is of primary and indispensable importance, we cannot help entertaining the brightest hopes from the assiduous efforts which are continually made to instruct the youthful generation. They will become mighty auxiliaries in future to the demolition of heathen prejudices, the general enlightenment of society, and the propagation of the gospel.

The deputation visited Jessore, and several conferences with pious natives are reported. At Barisaul and the out-station at Digalya they were much welcomed. The missionary there, Mr. Page, is the son of Captain Page, who, with his lady, was converted under the ministry of that zealous and noble-minded man, John Chamberlain. Three of his sisters also were brought into the Christian Church by the same instrumentality.

‘At Barisaul, fifty years ago, in a small pukka house, under a large tree, still standing near the river, there lived a man named Mahomet Hyat, who levied black mail on the natives going up and down the river. Sometimes he took them to his place, and put them to torture, in order to extort more money from them. In this manner he obtained sufficient to enable him to purchase considerable estates in the neighbourhood. Emboldened by success, he ventured to attack a sahib; but he paid dearly for his temerity. He was seized, tried, condemned, and hung up under the same large tree, and his property confiscated. Even after that example, the dacoits continued to be very daring and troublesome in the neighbourhood; the government, therefore, established a police-force there. It is now a regular station, with a judge and magistrate, a cutcherry, and a church. The dacoits have removed to a little distance, where they continue their evil deeds in a more cautious and petty manner. When Mr. and Mrs. Page were travelling in their boat, one night one of the blinds was gently lifted up, and a man’s face was seen beyond it. She screamed out, and he instantly disappeared. In the morning they found that a box had been stolen from the deck. The thieves are remarkably noiseless and expert; I am told that they have been known to take the sheet on which a sahib was sleeping; getting hold of a corner, they gently touch the sleeper’s ear with a feather, and as he moves, they draw it away by little and little.’—p. 190.

At Calcutta and the neighbourhood, the different places of worship, the schools, native preachers, and the printing establishment, claimed attention. The latter must be regarded as one of the most important institutions of India, and we believe that its internal management as well as external influence is worthy of great praise. Whatever may have been the cost, the

moral power it has exerted, and is continuing to exert, will render it justly celebrated in the annals of all future time. We could have wished for some further particulars respecting it. Preaching, schools, and the printing-press, are the three great engines of Indian amelioration. They will prove, we are assured, increasingly mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. On the question of their comparative value, we do not here enter. Mr. Russell remarks that the modes of missionary work abroad will be influenced by the opinions of friends at home, and that there is an impression more prevalent in this country than in India that preaching alone, or almost alone, is required; and that in the way which we usually term 'evangelizing.' We doubt the prevalence of such an impression; the impression is rather, we think—and it is the conviction of our own minds—that as preaching was the primary, the most sanctioned, and the most effective means of the earliest propagation of the gospel by Christ and his apostles, and therefore the peculiarly appointed and adapted means of diffusing truth and winning people to God, so it must ever be the first and is the best method of converting mankind, the method before which infidelity at home and heathenism abroad must quail, and be ultimately subverted; but as an auxiliary agency, the Christian public has given its decided testimony on behalf of educational efforts; and, above all, its untiring aid, and warm congratulations year after year expressed, to the noble labours of Carey, Marshman, Morison, and numerous other translators of the Scriptures into the various dialects of India. Mr. Russell, in fact, seeks to disparage neither, but is quite right in endeavouring to enhance the public estimate of school-instruction. We earnestly hope that each method will be employed with increasing energy and success.

ART. V.—*Peace, War, and Adventure.* An Autobiographical Memoir of George Laval Chesterton, formerly of the Field Train Department of the Royal Artillery, subsequently a Captain of the Army of Columbia, and at present Governor of the House of Correction at Cold-Bath Fields. In 2 vols. pp. 607. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

MR. CHESTERTON, who has been twenty-four years the governor of Cold-Bath Fields' House of Correction, is a native of Brompton. After learning the rudiments of education at Putney

and Knightsbridge, he was placed under the care of the Rev. W. Hurn, vicar of Debenham, in Suffolk, who seceded from the establishment, and became minister of a dissenting congregation at Woodbridge,—a gentleman of whom he speaks with undue disparagement, and whom he represents as dying a 'prey to doubt and vacillation,' which, on inquiry, we find not to be correct. While studying at Debenham, the excitements of the war then fiercely raging in the Peninsula inflamed him with military ardour; and after the death of his father, he obtained, through the patronage of Viscountess Percival, an appointment in the field-train department of the ordnance, and sailed for Cadiz in a transport ship. After some adventures in that city and its neighbourhood, which are well described, he proceeded to Carthagená, 'the ancient cradle of the marine armaments of Spain,' where he relinquished the offer of a commission in a Spanish regiment. From Carthagená, he was ordered to Tarragona, where he witnessed the triumphal entry of Ferdinand the Seventh, of which he gives a lively picture. After the evacuation of Tarragona by the British, he repaired to Genoa, whence he embarked for America. The ascent of the Patuxent river—the march upon Washington—the destruction of the public buildings in that city—the retreat from Baltimore, are all slightly sketched, with observations, which, in our apprehension, are not dictated by a spirit of fairness towards the Americans.

Having spent some time in enjoying the tropical beauties of Jamaica, and the hospitality of the planters, the author had the mortification of sharing the failure of the British forces at New Orleans. In reference to this event he tells us:—

'During our short stay at the fishermen's huts, I stood casually by the margin of the creek, and listened to a colloquy between two soldiers, who were busily employed in washing some articles of dress in the stream.

'One, an Irishman of the 85th regiment, asked his companion what he thought of "all these strange doings?" The other, scratching his head, replied "he hardly knew what to think of them." The Irishman assumed a very knowing look, and, elevating his voice, exclaimed: "Ah, me boy, things would have been very different if Old Douro had been here!" This rude reference to the Duke of Wellington showed at once the soldier's confidence in him, and expressed a hasty but honest want of reliance in our then commanders. Certainly the whole campaign was ill-omened, and appears to have been a combination of incompetency somewhere, and of misadventure everywhere.'—Vol. i. pp. 216, 217.

After the fall of Fort Bowyer, and the restoration of peace between England and America, Mr. Chesterton returned home,

paying a brief visit to Havannah on his way. Three years of constant employment were followed by only a fortnight's peaceful repose in the country, when he was again enrolled for foreign service. Speaking of Antwerp, at the time of Napoleon's advance upon Brussels, he says :—

‘Talk of excitement, tumult, crowds, and confusion, here there was no limit to any, or all. The attack of Napoleon upon the Prussians at Thuin and Fleurus, and his advance towards Brussels, had created a panic almost universal, and the inhabitants of villages and provincial towns, who had anything which they hoped to save by flight, had seized whatever transport they could command, and had decamped to any point remotely promising security. Antwerp seemed to offer the best asylum, and I arrived there in time to witness the exhaustless throngs anxious to ensure its safeguard.

‘The news of the wondrous battle of Waterloo scarcely cooled the ardour of the fugitives, and at such a movement, I, conformably with orders, set out for Vilvorde. That village was scarcely accessible, so completely blocked up were the roads and the canal. However, I did reach Vilvorde, and had the good fortune to procure a billet in the neat cottage *orné* of an elderly French gentlewoman, who was an enthusiastic *royaliste*. Her house and pretty garden had remained undisturbed amidst the general *mêlée*, and in the blooming month of June both wore the air of exquisite peacefulness. I cannot tell whence came the ‘Gazette’ over which the old lady poured with such intense enthusiasm ; but at breakfast she read it aloud to me, and wept so copiously over every passage which recorded the progress and safety of the King of France, that but for her kindness and sincerity I should have laughed outright at her simplicity. Her handkerchief was continually applied to her eyes, and exclamations of “Ah! mon bon roi!” were reiterated with every fresh passage which described his adventures. During the brief space (two days) that I passed in that sweet retreat, I saw enough to impress me with the amiability and devotion (to what she deemed the cause of her country) of one of many thousands thus troubled by these fierce political contentions.’—Vol. i. pp. 250, 251.

Mr. Chesterton's pages are greatly enlivened by portraits of remarkable persons with whom he was brought into contact from time to time. On his passage from Woolwich to Antwerp he fell in with a young field-train officer named Joseph Bradley, of whom he gives the following description. That young man was one of the rare class of natural linguists, who by an intuitive faculty could master and become a prompt adept in any language. In Spain he was known to have spoken Castilian in its utmost purity; and subsequently, a short excursion into Holland sent him back a proficient in the Dutch language; while an after-residence in Italy made him also an accomplished master of that unrivalled tongue :—

'Sailing from Woolwich with me, he expressed on our arrival at Antwerp an envious desire to speak French as I did. Of course he had acquired some rudiments at school, and with that frail foundation an incredibly short intercourse with French people (or rather Belgians, who all spoke the French language), made him a fluent conversationalist.

'Day by day he displayed a miraculously rapid familiarity with the accent and idioms of the French tongue, and so quickly did he acquire even the gesture and national ejaculations of the country, that when the battering-train was groaning under the confusion at Mons, caused by thousands of horses and their drivers arriving in disorganized masses, Bradley would shout (he had stentorian lungs), command, and vociferate in French so effectively, that he overawed the tumultuous "Bosmen" (for so the native drivers were designated), and enforced some rude kind of order.

'Sir Alexander Dickson consequently invested him with the direction of this heterogeneous mob of *employés*; and the celerity and aptitude with which he told them off into brigades, consisting of one hundred horses each, with a proportion of drivers and a "brigadier" to each division, quite astonished the beholders. I do not believe I exaggerate when I estimate the horses hired for this service at 5000, each horse being paid at four francs *per diem*, and one franc *per diem* being allotted to each driver. Bradley's labour, and his efficiency to perform the task assigned him, must therefore be manifest; for, ere long, system and due control were throughout observable, and every tongue bore testimony to Bradley's extra exertions and marvellous success. He was a tall athletic man, with a soldier-like bearing, and wearing a blue surtout, a cocked hat, with a moderately flowing plume, a sword belted by his side; and being armed, moreover, with a well-selected coach-whip with a thong of amazing length, he would stalk amongst those untutored Bosmen, and by his loud commands and stern deportment awe the least tractable into obedience. The battering-train, consequently, was soon in a movable condition, and despatched portion by portion to the frontier towns, where Prince Augustus of Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, invested numerous fortresses which Napoleon had left garrisoned behind him.'—*Ib.* pp. 254-6.

We have some amusing scenes at Mons; the account of the surrender of Maubeuge, Landrécie, and Philippeville are interspersed with shrewd observations and entertaining anecdotes; and the survey of the road between Mons and Namur suggests a thoughtful observation to all who are captivated by the glories of a military life:—

'Our road to Namur lay through Fleurus and Ligny, the scene of Napoleon's victory over Blücher. At the latter place we contemplated the ruinous effect, upon the population, of the Emperor's expedient to dislodge his enemy, by firing the village at the moment when the wind blew against their front. The charred or prostrate cottages still re-

mained to attest the fierceness of that conflagration ; and the miserable inhabitants, who still clung to their native locality, exhibited a destitute, nay, pitiable condition. The women dilated with mournful earnestness upon the scenes they had witnessed, and showed us the countless tumuli indicative of the buried slain. These are in reality the most eloquent commentaries upon war, tending to strip it of its meretricious gloss, and to impress the beholder with its real deformity.'—*Ib.* pp. 274, 275.

It appears that the British officers, for the sake of ease and comfort, adopted the light caps of the Prussian officers, for whom consequently they were frequently mistaken, not only by the ragged urchins near the villages and hamlets, but even by the respectable inhabitants of the towns. Speaking of one of the latter class, the author relates :—

'At the period when this want of discrimination prevailed, we used at times to ride from Daussoit to Philippeville, distant about two miles; and upon one such occasion I emerged singly from the town, and beheld on the glacis a French inhabitant busily amassing the fragments of shells which had burst and scattered during our bombardment. I approached, and addressing him on the ordinary topic of the weather, &c., our conversation thence launched into the recent siege, and the general events of the war. The bourgeois fell into the prevailing error, and mistaking me for a Prussian; consequently he was unrestrained by any delicate forbearance towards England, but launched out into such a tirade of abuse against her, attributing all the misfortunes of France, and, indeed, of the whole world, to what he termed her treacherous policy, that I became highly amused, and not a little interested in the denouement of our conference. At length, when the Frenchman had quite exhausted his vocabulary of disgust and depreciation, I ventured to remark that I was sorry to find my own nation held in such disparagement by the French people. The shock was instantaneous. The sense of politeness, so indisputably appreciated by most Frenchmen, was painfully outraged, and the poor fellow's face betokened real distress and embarrassment. His frame seemed to be agitated by the awkwardness of the discovery, that it was to an Englishman he had been thus traducing the British government and people. Some personal compliments upon my French idiom came to his rescue, and he did his best to make the *amende honorable*. I left him with the remark that national antipathies need not extend to individual intercourse; and applauding that charitable sentiment my companion made me a very polite bow, and we parted with every demonstration of outward amity. In those days of strong national prejudice I never failed to observe that, however inimical Frenchmen might be to Great Britain as a rival power, the utmost suavity stamped their address and discourse towards individual Englishmen.'—*Ib.* pp. 281, 282.

Mr. Chesterton continued some months with the army of occupation in France, until the Board of Ordnance having

suddenly reduced the department in which he served, he was despatched to England, where, having a scanty modicum of half pay, he was compelled to look about him for employment. After many failures, he formed an acquaintance with a kind and eccentric old lady, a proprietress of East Indian Stock, who gave him the assurance that her good friend, Mr. Elphinstone, one of the Directors of the company, would willingly promote his interests. Some of our readers will probably remember scenes of 'courtly comicality' not unlike this.—'Duly furnished with a letter, expressing her desire to enlist his services in my behalf, I waited upon the Director, an octogenarian, tall, bland, and of polished deportment. He received me with the most courteous suavity, read the letter, looked grave for a moment, and rising from his seat with a smile, proceeded towards the door, which he opened with one hand, while he extended the other to me. In a very few words he made me understand there was no hope for me in the service of the East India Directors, and in the sweetest imaginable accents, wishing me "all possible success in life," consigned me to the hall.' (Vol. ii. p. 21.)

Some other failures are reported with similar good humour. As he began to meditate retirement to Wales or the Highlands, his attention was called, by a few words, casually from a military friend whom he had known in Spain, to South America, then the scene of Bolivar's grand exploits. He lost no time in becoming a lieutenant in the 'British Legion.' His adventures in this romantic tour are to us the most interesting part of Mr. Chesterton's volumes. The sketches of Bolivar and Morillo, the republican and royalist chiefs, have a freshness of colouring which will be new, we suppose, to most of our readers. We begin with Bolivar:—

'Bolivar was short of stature and of slender form. His features were small, but his eyes expressive. At the period of my acquaintance with him, he had become prematurely gray, and had a countenance serious and careworn. His voice was singularly dissonant, and his general address to strangers shy and unfavourable. He always appeared to me to be awaiting an unfriendly communication, for his looks were suspicious, and his eyes usually downcast. I have compared my impressions respecting him with those of my friend General Miller, who knew him so well, and we both agreed as to the faulty nature of his general address. To this defect I have always attributed much of the hostility which prevailed against him. His quickness and activity were unsurpassed, and therein he differed from almost every other native chief.

'Paez, indeed, a wild herdsman, utterly devoid of education, was an active and indefatigable savage; but the original station, and property,

and education of Bolivar, combined with his untiring activity, served to maintain his ascendancy.

'He possessed another eminent quality—viz., an utter contempt for privation. If reverses demanded sacrifice, he would cast aside all superfluous indulgences, and march on foot, and unweariedly, with his humblest followers.

'Still he had a host of enemies and detractors, who incessantly delighted to asperse his character, and to depreciate his achievements. Endless were the tales recounted by the natives to his prejudice, some of whom charged him with cowardice—a failing which his whole life belied. He had not the *savoir faire* to enlist universal sympathy; for, in the language of General Miller, "Bolivar was not personally popular,"* and, notwithstanding his ennobling patriotism, he was at best rather the man of circumstances than the man of choice.

'Had Mariño, with his gracious demeanour, possessed Bolivar's sterling qualities, he might have proved (as he had often sought to be) a formidable rival. Paez, also, the idol of the Llaneros, was supposed only to want the requisite ambition to have supplanted Bolivar, at a time when the plains constituted the stronghold of the independent cause.

'In short, I experienced no trifling surprise to discover, in my intercourse with the natives, the little devotion of which Bolivar was personally the object, doubtless attributable to the absence of that individual tact and demeanour which so largely inspired the followers of Napoleon with love and admiration. Nor was Bolivar a man of transcendent ability; his talents were respectable, but by no means remarkable.

'As a set-off to these disparagements, he was a man of undeniable patriotism, who had sacrificed everything for his country, and I question if the annals of any nation can present a specimen of purer disinterestedness. When the public of Bolivia voted him 1,000,000 of dollars, he assigned the whole sum to the purchase of 1000 negro slaves.

'His external deportment betokened considerable personal vanity. He had doubtless become inflated by the exaggerated encomiums of the British and American press, which were largely copied into the 'Gazeta del Orinoco.' Enamoured of the uniform of the British Horse Artillery, he adopted it, and strutted with an ill-disguised consciousness of importance.

'He was reputed a fluent speaker, but employed the senseless hyperbole for which the Spaniards at that period enjoyed an unenviable notoriety.'—Ib. pp. 153-155.

The author's interview with Morillo is thus described:—

'He rose at my entrance, bowed politely, and handed me a chair. I breathed more freely, and began to augur favourably.

'I saw before me a man, tall, and of large proportions, with dark

* Memoirs of General Miller, vol. ii. p. 359.

hair and eyes, a full face, and features betokening some benevolence. He wore his morning costume, consisting of white pantaloons, jacket, and waistcoat, decked with silver braiding, and his Hessian boots were edged at the top with silver, and had silver tassels. He always dressed studiously.

‘His first address to me was one of apology that I should have been compelled to travel so far in ill health. He proceeded to inform me that many of his friends had written to him on my behalf, and had begged, as a personal satisfaction to themselves, that I should be treated with consideration. He told me he had carefully perused my papers and evidence, that he had formed a favourable opinion of me, and “desired the pleasure of some conversation with me.” With the utmost complacency he proceeded,—“You have suffered much in this wild country; stay, however, at my head-quarters and rest yourself. I shall be happy to see you with the officers of my staff at table; but in order to relieve your mind from any further anxiety, I announce to you that you are from this moment free, and after a time you may return to the coast by whatever route you may prefer.”’—*Ib.* p. 207.

Having passed eight days at the general’s head-quarters, he took leave by thanking him for his generous treatment. The general asked him what the Spaniards had done to excite his hostility; to which he replied,—‘Nothing,’ but proceeded to relate how the travels of Cortes, Ulloa, and Humboldt had inspired him with the wish to visit countries so famous, and that he had eagerly joined an expedition which promised the gratification of his wish. The courteous general appeared to be satisfied, and said,—‘It is very natural.’

On his return to England, Mr. Chesterton set out from Dover to Chatham, before breakfast, with half-a-crown and fourpence in his pocket.

‘After walking twenty miles, occasionally resting on a gate, and ruminating on past adventures, I became footsore and wearied, and began to halt more frequently, and to sit longer in a reflective mood. At length I saw the well-arranged chairs of a road-side house, and longed for rest and refreshment. I happened to be the only guest, and was waited upon by a tidy matron, who perceived my exhaustion, and looked earnestly at me. I asked for a glass of ale, and drank it with avidity. ‘Ah, sir!’ she exclaimed, ‘you are not accustomed to travel in this manner.’ There was a charity in her tone which invoked confidence, and in a few words I informed her of my circumstances.

‘On hearing that my destination was Chatham, she recommended a returned post-chaise. (Does anybody now-a-days comprehend the convenience?) And she told me they were constantly passing. My solitary half-crown was all I had to offer, and consequently I demurred; but while I was involved in the abstruse calculation, a returning chaise came up, and I ventured to inquire the cost of a lift to Chatham, to which place I heard the chaise was bound. Five shillings were demanded, and I turned away in despair. “What will

you give?" asked the driver, and my last remaining coin was named. The offer was accepted and in I jumped, and found myself seated by a gentleman who politely addressed me.

'What could I talk of but South America, and the hosts of incidents connected with my adventure? It singularly chanced that my companion had a nephew, who had sailed from England with English's legion, and with whom I had been well acquainted. That discovery made us prompt friends, and when we arrived at a large inn, at which the driver designed to rest and refresh his horses, my companion put this most interesting question to me, "Will you do me the pleasure, sir, to take tea with me here?" The proposition exactly suited my condition, and gladly assenting, my lips once more smacked the flavour of an English cup of tea. This was the crowning instance of adventitious aid, which had so often in my chequered career ministered to my necessities when all appeared hopeless and unprofitable. It impressed me with the singular interposition, which, under deep distress and divers circumstances, had snatched me from overshadowing evil.

'In due time I arrived at the Chest Arms in Chatham, where my brother's name insured me a bed and every requisite attention.

'I depended on my brother for a supply of cash; but to my discomfort I learned that he was gone to London. A Samaritan of the same office tendered me a sufficient loan; and, thus replenished, I repaired to town.'—*Ib.* pp. 233-235.

A narrative of his adventures, which was published, and of which he now speaks as 'crude and ill written,' served to introduce him to the late Rev. Thomas Rennell, who promised to aid him in entering the church. But Mr. Rennell died without being able to fulfil his intentions. Mr. Chesterton was pursuing his studies at St. John's College, Cambridge, with a view to episcopal ordination, when—

'In walked the late Rev. John Ousby, at that time chaplain to the Middlesex House of Correction (with whom I had long been reading), and in a jocular strain he said, "I am come to drag you to prison." He proceeded hastily to inform me that, having been casually present the day before in the Court at Clerkenwell, he had there learned the determination of the magistrates to insist upon the resignation of Mr. Vickery, the Governor of the prison at Cold-Bath Fields. So many had been the complaints of his management, that at length his removal, voluntary or compulsory, seemed indispensable.

'Mr. Ousby detailed to me the sentiments expressed by Mr. Serjeant Pell (then an influential magistrate), who insisted that a great mistake had long been made in assigning such a post to a mere police officer. He urged, on the contrary, that the governor of such a prison should be a gentleman, and that it was desirable he should be a military or naval officer, who combined education with habits of business.

'This was the sum of Mr. Ousby's communication; he was pleased, however, to add, that he thought I was the very man thus sketched out by Mr. Serjeant Pell.'—*Ib.* pp. 240, 241.

On the 27th of July, 1829, the candidate for orders was invested with full authority as the governor of a prison. We have read with serious interest his account of the state of English prisons at that time, notwithstanding the labours for their improvement which illustrate the names of Howard and Paul, Fry, Gurney, and Hoare, and the strenuous and successful reforms which the *ci-devant* field-train officer has effected. We should have been glad of more details. Some of the anecdotes given are singularly striking. We have room for only one, by no means the most interesting, but because of its brevity suited to our purpose:—

‘In the same “yard” was one Mary Moriarty, a young athletic Irishwoman, who was the terror of the watchmen and street-keepers in St. Giles’. Drunkenness, and consequent violence, frequently consigned her to the prison, where it was some time before I became cognizant of her opposite qualities. If reproved for a trifling fault, she would abandon herself to a paroxysm of rage that knew no bounds. She cared not whom she assailed, or what she demolished, and it behoved every one who valued either his features or his garments quickly to stand aloof. Restraint and punishment were her too frequent lot; but she was never consigned to durance before she had fought desperately and single-handed against a host of male turnkeys.

‘A sudden discovery imparted to me the secret of her management. So excessive had been her fury and resistance, that horror deprived most bystanders of any desire to conciliate such a tigress by gentle language. One day, however, when she was fast bound, and could do me no injury, I approached her, and addressed her in kind and feeling terms of remonstrance. A sigh and a tear soon evinced the efficacy of the appeal, and, from that time forth, my expostulatory voice would soothe her rising anger, and make her as tractable as a lamb.

‘Never did a human creature possess a warmer heart; but the unrestrained indulgence of weak and doating parents had made this excitable girl a species of untamed vixen, and her wild and lawless life contributed to fill up the cup of wretchedness which her temper and habits had made her portion.

‘She died prematurely exhausted by the lowest debauchery.’—
Ib. pp. 280, 281.

Mr. Chesterton's literary composition is, generally, easy and flowing, though in some places rather stiff, and tintured with a degree of egotism not unnatural, perhaps, in the writer of such varied and extraordinary personal adventures. The moral tone of his reflections is healthy, and after all he has seen of human nature in its wildest and most degrading aspects, we are agreeably surprised at his humanity in saying—

‘During my long experience of upwards of twenty-three years, amongst hosts, amounting now to a daily average exceeding 1200 prisoners, I have seen brutal degeneracy in every shape, and in many

instances the most revolting wickedness. Still it is a pleasure to avow that, fairly contemplating the crime, ignorance, and depravity in which so many have been reared from their infancy, and the consequent absence of all that is pure and ennobling in the moral atmosphere they have inhaled, I have discovered so many traits of excellence in countless apparently abandoned objects, that I entertain, perhaps, a superior opinion of human nature to most others.

'I am accustomed to remark, "that the stamp of the Deity has not been quite effaced by the trail of the serpent;" and many would be surprised to know the patience, the industry, the tractability, the grateful recognition of kindness, the prompt extension of aid in any emergency, and the thousand little traits that tend to relieve the character from utter baseness.

'There are too many who possess innumerable faults and vices, and upon whom reasoning and forbearance are alike wasted; but by far the majority exhibit many redeeming virtues, which compel you to pity their fallen condition. While numbers are, by habit and association, hopeless, as regards thorough reformation; the discipline, cleanliness, and the instruction in well-ordered prisons, tend immensely to humanize even the worst criminals. Left unchecked in their vicious career, they would become monsters; but being frequently committed, and compelled to observe the decencies of humanity, the tendency to unlimited grossness is checked, and some particle of better principle is infused into them.'—*Ib.* pp. 322-4.

ART. VI.—*A New Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels.* Comprising a Synopsis and a Diatessaron; together with an Introductory Treatise, and Numerous Tables, Indexes, and Diagrams, supplying the Necessary Proofs and Explanations. By William Stroud, M.D. London: S. Bagster and Sons. 1853. pp. ccxvi.—384.

THIS elaborate and exact volume is an exceedingly valuable addition to the Biblical literature of England, and commends itself to the acceptance of all who are sincerely concerned for the diffusion of accurate intelligence regarding that Divine Life in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, which is the very substance of our Christian faith. The author's design is the highest that can engage the thoughts of man, and worthy of the careful labour which, for thirty years, he has assiduously given to it; while the execution displays a large amount of appropriate erudition, discriminating judgment, and not a little tact in the application of the most approved canons of Biblical criticism. A Preliminary Dissertation, of great fulness, illustrates the cha-

racter and contents, the writers, and the specific objects of the separate Gospels, their relation to one another, and also to the subsequent portions of the New Testament. For the purpose of avoiding mere conjecture, and approaching as nearly as possible to the certainty of demonstration, the rules to be followed in constructing such a work are cautiously examined, and fairly determined. All the critical editions of the Greek Testament, from the 'Textus Receptus' to that of Tischendorf, have been consulted in preparing the original text, which is properly used in preference to any version; and for every material departure from the received text the authorities are given in the margin. The analysis of the sacred histories is most minute and painstaking, and the rules of subdivision, collation, arrangement, and consolidation, are rigidly followed, as well as clearly explained. The whole is arranged in twelve principal PARTS, and these are subdivided into nearly fifty sections, and more than seven hundred *paragraphs*, each one of which is preceded by a brief yet clear notification of its topic, with a reference to the place in which it occurs:—

'In collating the Four Gospels, the order is that in which they are here assumed to have been originally published, namely, Luke, Matthew, Mark, John; and for this decision reasons are assigned. In fixing the order of their contents, two very simple but sufficient rules are observed. All passages containing indications of time or sequence are arranged to such indications, and all others are retained in their actual connexion with those of the former class. When passages in two or more Gospels are in concordance, they are presented in the double form of synopsis, and diatessaron, separated by an intermediate column, showing from which Gospel and on what grounds each portion of the consolidated text is selected. It is evident that neither of these processes is complete without the other, since the reader cannot easily make use of a synopsis, nor be assured of the correctness of a diatessaron; but, by means of the two, when thus combined, he can peruse with satisfaction the statements of the Evangelists, either individually with their several peculiarities and variations, or united in a single and continuous narrative comprising their best expressions and their fullest details.'—Preface.

We attach much value to every wise and honest attempt to exhibit the Harmony of the Four Gospels, and in each of those which have so frequently appeared there is doubtless some help afforded. The *special* characteristics of the present work will be found in the adoption of a corrected Greek text,—the combination of analysis with synthesis,—and the purely historical character of the Harmony: to which we may add, most emphatically, the devout and reverent spirit with which these ancient documents are treated as testimonies of men inspired

of God to be the witnesses for Christ to all ages and all nations.

We are quite aware that the construction of a Harmony is open to the plausible objection that such an undertaking seems to imply that the Gospels, as they are, do not contain the best possible mode of exhibiting the Life of Christ. To this objection Dr. Stroud gives the following calm and, as we judge, satisfactory reply:—

‘When the Four Gospels were first published, there existed various circumstances of a local and temporary nature, which occasioned their partial, and in some respects different, representations of the same common subject. A slight inspection of their contents will show that facts mentioned by one Evangelist are often omitted by others, that their style of description exhibits considerable variety, and that they do not always observe the order of time. But it is also manifest that, like many other parts of Scripture, these books, though originally adapted to particular persons and cases, were designed to be ultimately available to all mankind; and for this end it is highly desirable that they should appear in a combined as well as in a separate form, whereby every portion of the narrative may be inserted in its appropriate place, and expressed in the strongest and clearest language which the sacred writers supply.

‘Some persons may, perhaps, be of opinion that the Gospels in their present state are so absolutely perfect, that anything like an attempt to improve their mode of representation must be presumptuous and vain. It is readily granted that for the promotion of personal piety an elaborate study of the Evangelists is by no means necessary; and that, were the minds of men better disposed towards religion than they are, an account of its facts and doctrines far less copious and methodical than is found in any of these books would be sufficient for salvation. But, since four distinct Gospels, varying in detail yet equal in authority, have been given for human instruction, it is a proof of reverence rather than of presumption, to render that instruction as effective as possible, by combining and arranging its several parts on reasonable principles suggested by the authors themselves, and without making the slightest substantial alteration, either in their materials or their language.

‘The utility of such a Harmony, if well executed, is self-evident; and, indeed, unless some such process is either mentally or visibly performed, it is impossible to do full justice to this important part of Scripture. A good Harmony exhibits the gospel to the best advantage in reference to completeness, perspicuity, and order; renders its minutest details interesting and instructive, obviates many cavils and objections, which, without its aid, could not easily be refuted; and develops many latent facts and undesigned coincidences, which might otherwise be overlooked; and in all these ways affords peculiar and irresistible evidence of the truth, and divine origin of Christianity. An attempt to present the sacred narrative in the clearest and most impressive manner which its original documents permit, is therefore neither presumptuous, nor

calculated to offend the feelings of those whose well-established faith requires no further confirmation. Such persons will, on the contrary, rejoice to see all the resources of Revelation, whether obvious or latent, rendered applicable to the improvement of minds less teachable than their own. It is, moreover, in strict conformity with the usual course of divine agency, to require men, when once liberally supplied with means and motives, to use their best efforts, as rational and moral agents, in cultivating and applying them. In the acquisition of religious knowledge, as of the arts and sciences, impressions merely passive are comparatively of little value; and the active co-operation of the learner, in dependence on the promised influence of the Holy Spirit, is necessary for complete success. The history of prophets and apostles shows that even their superior gifts and illuminations did not exempt them from the constant study of revealed truth; and implies that the Scriptures, like their divine Author, are an inexhaustible treasure of wisdom and knowledge, which never fails to reward the researches of devout and diligent inquirers.'—Int. p. ii.

The usefulness of this Harmony is much enhanced by three chronological tables—the chronology of Jewish and Gentile affairs; the chronology of Christian affairs; and the chronology of the Books of the New Testament:—the second being founded on the first, and the third on the former two. We are not insensible to the difficulties encountered in the construction of such tables, after all the elucidations of the ablest chronologers; but Dr. Stroud has no theory to uphold, offers his conclusions as proposing 'nothing more than a close approximation,' supports them by fair reasoning, and agrees with Dr. Greswell in the two principal dates, relating to the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist in A.U.C. 779, or A.D. 26; and the Crucifixion of Jesus at the age of thirty-three and a half in A.U.C. 783, or A.D. 30. To these tables are added a tabular view of the united ministry of John the Baptist and of Christ; and likewise a tabular view of Peter's denials of Christ—both of which are not only good specimens of the author's laudable exactitude, but much more illustrative than a hasty reader can imagine, of two very important facts in the Saviour's history, and of the varied manner in which they are recorded by the several Evangelists. The tables we have mentioned belong to the Preliminary Dissertation. Similar illustrations are given in the Harmony itself, relative to the Herodian family—the two pedigrees of Christ given by Matthew and Luke—the Twelve Apostles—the period of ten Jewish days, including the arrival of Christ at Bethany on his final visit to Jerusalem, and his Resurrection—and the principal events connected with the Resurrection of Christ.

The chief references made to the ministry of Christ in the

Acts and in the Epistles are elegantly arranged, in the language of the original, in a synopsis at the end of the Harmony. This is followed by ingenious indexes, summaries, diagrams, and synopses, which greatly facilitate the study of the work, and its use as a book of reference. The 'additional note respecting the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel, chapter xvi. 9—20,' furnishes an excellent example of textual criticism, and concludes with a conjecture, which will probably strike readers, who are not very critical, as a most felicitous close to a 'Harmony of the Four Gospels.'

'On the whole it is not improbable that the earliest copies of Mark's Gospel terminated abruptly at chapter xvi. 8, beyond which the aid of the Evangelist as a Harmonist was not required; but that when he and Luke a few years later visited Paul, towards the end of the apostle's imprisonment at Rome (2 Tim. iv. 9—13, 21), the remaining verses of that chapter were added by the common consent of the three, in order to render it more complete and instructive, and that this supplement was inserted in most of the subsequent copies, whilst a few adhered to the standard of the earlier ones. Nor is it an unpleasing or inappropriate occupation, at the close of the present volume, to contemplate these three excellent and inspired men united for such a purpose, and thereby giving their testimony, had it been necessary, to the authenticity and truth of the three earlier Gospels; independently of that rendered shortly after by the apostle John.'—p. 384.

To this conjecture critical objections might, of course, be urged, as indeed to every other mode of explaining the appearance of the paragraph in question; yet we are disposed to agree with the author, that 'on the whole' it is not improbable. It is due to all parties that we should commend the beautiful manner in which the work is edited and printed.

ART. VII.—*The Grenville Papers: being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, K.G., and the Right Hon. George Grenville, their Friends and Contemporaries.* Now First Published from the original MSS. formerly preserved at Stowe. Edited, with Notes, by William James Smith, Esq., formerly Librarian at Stowe. 8vo. Vols. III. and IV. London: John Murray. 1853.

THE former volumes of this work were noticed in our Journal for August last, and we see no reason to modify the opinion then expressed. 'It is not easy to over-estimate' the value of

the work. Such was the judgment we pronounced, and the volumes now before us are entitled to an equally favorable decision. The publication of family records, recently carried to so great an extent, has largely enriched our historical literature, and served to clear up some of the mysteries of our party conflicts. Much no doubt remains to be solved; but judging from the past, we are hopeful that materials will yet be brought to light which may simplify and explain what is still confused and unintelligible. We must not complain if some evil accompany the good; if some chaff be mixed up with the wheat. It is easy to account for this. Family pride goes far to do it, and the conditions of editorship, in such cases, probably explain the absence of severe, if not of judicious, revision. Few editors have such absolute disposal of the materials entrusted to them, as to be able to reject whatever they deem superfluous or trifling. We must, therefore, be content to submit to the labor of sifting the *correspondence* published;—of doing for ourselves what a competent and untrammelled editor would do for us. We are content to accept the alternative, and, indeed, are so thankful for the materials supplied that we care little for their superabundance. In the present case there is much room for selection. The really valuable portions of these papers might have been comprised in half the number of volumes, but we greatly prefer having the *four* to the omission of a letter illustrative of any one of the interesting events of our history.

In a single point the public will be disappointed by these volumes. They were expected to clear up the mystery which attaches to the authorship of the Letters of Junius. Rumors were afloat of 'a box with three seals' containing 'the original letter from Junius to the king, signed with the real name of the author.' The original letter to Lord Mansfield was also said to be amongst the treasures at Stowe, and one confirming 'beyond all possibility of doubt' the claims of Charles Lloyd to the authorship. All such reports, however, are now proved to be erroneous; and what is still more startling, a direct contradiction is given to the advertisement announcing the first volume of the 'Grenville papers,' in which it was stated that they included letters addressed in 1768 by Junius to Mr. Grenville, which would divulge the secret so long withheld from the public. Nothing of the kind, however, now appears. Instead of this, we are told by the editor,—

'It has been long expected that upon the publication of these Papers the real name of that writer would become *certainly* known. In that expectation, I regret to say, the public will be disappointed. The letters to Mr. Grenville not only do not disclose the author's name, but

it can scarcely be said that they afford even a clue to its discovery; on the contrary, it may perhaps be considered that they create additional difficulties, and that they were intended by the author to render his concealment the more effectual.'—Vol. iii. p. xiii.

The letters here referred to are only three in number, and they are all which appear to have been received by Mr. Grenville. 'They are unquestionably,' says Mr. Smith, with a confidence somewhat startling, 'in the handwriting of Junius: two of them are signed with the initial C., the other has no signature.' We shall not enter on the subject which Mr. Smith discusses in an Introduction of 228 pages. It has already engaged the attention of many distinguished critics, and we need scarcely say that the result has been in an inverse proportion to the labor employed. The general issue would seem to be, that the question does not admit of satisfactory solution; that plausible evidence may be advanced on behalf of different claimants, but that in no case is there such a preponderance of proof as constitutes ground for clear and unfaltering judgment. For some years past the decision of the most competent critics has been in favor of Sir Philip Francis. This opinion was first advocated by Mr. John Taylor, in a work entitled 'The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living character established,' which was published in 1818, and has since been supported by Lords Campbell, Brougham, and Mahon, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Macaulay, and others. Lord Campbell, in his 'Lives of the Lord Chancellors,' affirms 'that there is a claim against Francis as the real Junius, which would convict him before any fair and intelligent jury.' Against such an array of authorities it seems presumptuous to question the claims of Francis, yet we confess that the following passage from the 'Edinburgh Review' appears to us fatal to the theory advocated by these distinguished men.

"A simple test," says a writer in the 'Edinburgh Review,'* "ascertains the political connection of Junius. He supported the cause of authority against America, with Mr. Grenville, the minister who passed the Stamp act. He maintained the highest popular principles on the Middlesex election, with the same statesman, who was the leader of opposition on that question. No other party in the kingdom but the Grenvilles combined these two opinions: and it is very unlikely that a private writer, unpledged and unconnected, should have spontaneously embraced political doctrines, which, though ingenuity might reconcile them in reasoning, were, in the disputes of that period, the opposite extremes."

The politics of Sir Philip Francis did not combine these two

* Vol. xlv. p. 5. June, 1826.

opinions, and this single circumstance compels us to withhold our assent to the judgment so confidently pronounced by Lord Campbell, and others. Mr. Smith, in his Introduction to these volumes, argues strenuously on behalf of the claims of Lord Temple, and though we do not feel that he has made out his case, we are ready to admit that the evidence adduced is entitled to respectful attention. His proof consists of a large array of facts, no one of which is, in itself, of much importance ; but the whole, taken in combination, are, at least, sufficient to shake the credit of other claimants, and to induce a serious inquiry into the pretensions advanced on behalf of the Master of Stowe. Considerable diligence and skill are displayed, but the general result is to diminish the credit of other aspirants rather than to establish the authorship of Lord Temple. On the whole, we are inclined to think that Junius spoke truly when he said, 'I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.'

Leaving this knotty subject, we proceed to our more immediate object. The 'Correspondence' now published is of rare value, and will take its place amongst the standard materials of English history. The present volumes throw light on several of the involved questions pertaining to the early portion of the reign of George III. Amongst these are the king's first illness and the debate on the Regency Bill. No future historian can do justice to these topics without availing himself of the aid they furnish. The letters commence in January, 1765, when Mr. George Grenville was premier. It is well known that the king regarded him with aversion. He had probably been disappointed, as was also his favorite, Lord Bute, at the evident determination of Mr. Grenville to withstand the dictation of the latter. The personal demeanor of Mr. Grenville was also offensive to his royal master. He made no secret of his opinions, resented the interference of the favorite, and was not always as respectful in the closet as he should have been. There was nothing of the suppleness of the courtier about him. His speech was blunt, his carriage wanting in polish. He did not hesitate to inflict long speeches on his majesty, even when the signs of impatience were visible, and was either too proud or too negligent to guard against the mischievous effects of that back-stair influence with which the court was rife. The worst possible feeling was thus engendered. There was no confidence whatever between the king and his minister. The former was continually scheming for the overthrow of Mr. Grenville, whom he retained from necessity only ; the latter knew that he was disliked, and that his dismissal would ensue whenever it might safely be effected. The dispositions of the

two men precluded the possibility of reconciliation. George III. was both arbitrary and obstinate, and Mr. Grenville was wanting in all the softer and more winning qualities of our nature. The monarch was jealous of his prerogative, the minister of his independence. The one deemed his will the final law; the other obtruded his counsels where they were not asked, and expressed opinions which he knew to be unpalatable. A note from the king to Mr. Grenville, dated May 21st, sufficiently betokens the character of their intercourse. It was couched in the following laconic and peremptory terms:—

‘MR. GRENVILLE,—I am surprised that you are not yet come, when you know it was my orders to be attended this evening. I expect you, therefore, to come the moment you receive this.’—*Ib.* p. 40.

A similar feeling was evinced towards other members of the administration. On the 26th of the previous month, Lords Halifax and Sandwich addressed a note to the king, then at Richmond, desiring leave to wait on his majesty, in order to communicate what had taken place amongst the ministers on the Regency Bill: and on the following day they received the following unceremonious rejoinder:—

‘Lord Halifax, I chuse to have my time when I am at Richmond to myself, and not to have it broke in upon, and as it will make no difference in the going on with the Regency Bill, I will not fail being in town to-morrow at ten o’clock to receive Lord Sandwich and you. I am a little surprised that Lord Halifax did not send me a line with a sketch of what had passed, though it might want more explanation, and I do insist on the doing it to satisfy my curiosity before I hear the rest to-morrow.’—*Ib.* p. 134.

Much had passed previously to this in the way of complaint and crimination. The ministers felt that ‘the favor and authority of the Crown were in direct opposition to each other,’ and they did not hesitate to say so. In this they were right, and only uttered the universal conviction of all parties at the time. A brief extract from Mr. Grenville’s Diary in 1765 throws light on this—

‘Friday, January 25th.—Mr. Grenville went to the king, who began to talk to him upon the debate of the Thursday before, but with not the least word in commendation or approbation to Mr. Grenville.

‘Mr. Grenville made a pretty strong remonstrance to his majesty upon the general state of things, and the independence avowed by the gentlemen of the army, and that of those lukewarm friends to government who professed attachment to his majesty, but at the same time thought themselves at liberty to oppose his measures and ministers. The king heard him patiently, though with a good deal of confusion and embarrassment.

'Sunday, January 27th.—Mr. Grenville again renewed his remonstrance to the king, who received it in the same manner as the preceding day, assenting to the evil, but neither pointing out the remedy, nor inquiring into the cause of Mr. Grenville's alarm, nor saying any word of approbation of his services or past conduct. Upon other subjects he was easy and civil.

'Before Mr. Grenville went into the closet, he had a long conversation with Lord Mansfield, to whom he imparted his fear of the confusion into which the government was likely to be thrown, while men's minds were kept at a gaze for want of a thorough support and countenance from the king to his principal servants, and whilst that sort of distinction was suffered to be made between his majesty and his ministers.

'Lord Mansfield seemed much struck with the deductions Mr. Grenville entered into, and a good deal alarmed at the disgust Mr. Grenville expressed; said he was sorry to find so much reason for it, and was surprised the king could forget how much he owed to Mr. Grenville.'—Ib. pp. 116, 117.

The Regency Bill is generally supposed to have decided the king on dismissing his ministers. It may probably have done so, yet it is quite evident that no such measure was needed. George III. had long tolerated without trusting his advisers, and little, therefore, was needed to bring their tenure of office to a close. The real difficulty did not arise from any relentions on the part of the king. He was incapable of this. It never entered into his thoughts. His only feeling towards Mr. Grenville and his associates was that of hostility, and all he needed in order to their dismissal was to see his way clear for the future. In dismissing one minister, he was to take care that he did not fall under the power of another. The course pursued by the ministry on the regency question was therefore but one amongst many considerations inclining the king to the course he took. It may have been specially weighty. It may have left to the cabinet no place for repentance, but the royal mind was made up to dismiss the administration prior to this occurrence, and the purpose would undoubtedly have been effected had no such question arisen.

The state of the king's health suggested the importance of providing for the government of the nation in the event of his being laid aside. This necessity was felt by all parties, though the delicacy of the question indisposed each of them to take the initiative. The king at length introduced it to Mr. Grenville on the 3rd of April, 1765, expressing a wish that such of the ministers as would, by their office, belong to the Council of the Regency, should have a meeting in order to assist him with their advice.

'The king talked a good deal upon the subject; said that he

approved of the plan of the bill made in the late king's time, except that he wished to have the power of naming the regent left to himself, by instruments in writing, without specifying the particular person in the Act of Parliament, which he thought would be a means to prevent any faction or uneasiness in his family upon this subject. Mr. Grenville expressed his general approbation of the king's goodness in thinking of a regency, but avoided saying anything with regard to the change by the proposal of reserving the nomination to the king, which then appeared to him liable to great objections, some of which he mentioned to the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich as soon as he left the closet. The king was averse to having the princes of the blood in the council of regency, and said he thought it would create jealousy and uneasiness.—Ib. p. 126.

The ministers differed in opinion on the plan proposed; but it was ultimately arranged between the king and the lord chancellor (Northington) that his majesty 'should content himself with naming the five princes of his blood as counsellors to the Regent, giving up the nomination of the four others by instruments under his hand, and only filling up the places of any of the five upon the death of any of them.' This alteration was announced by the king himself to Mr. Grenville, and we are not at all surprised that the latter, when asked his opinion, replied, 'that he really had been honored with so little of his majesty's confidence and communication in this important business, that he was at a loss to form any opinion upon it.' 'The king,' we are told, 'started, seemed surprised, and asked Mr. Grenville what was the matter.' Without imputing to George III. unwonted stupidity, he must have known that it was nothing short of insult to resolve on such a measure without having consulted his First Lord of the Treasury. The king may have been surprised at the *language*; he could not marvel at the *feeling* of Mr. Grenville. Unaccustomed to the former, he may have been startled at the boldness of his minister, but his knowledge of human nature—superficial and limited as it was—must have apprised him of the feeling which so studied a neglect could not but awaken.

Mr. Grenville, though opposed to the discretionary power reserved to the king, agreed, however, to bring forward the measure, and the royal speech of the 24th of April consequently suggested that the monarch should be empowered to appoint 'either the queen, or any other person of the Royal Family usually residing in Great Britain.' When, however, a bill, founded upon this suggestion was introduced into the Upper House, a doubt was started respecting the meaning of the phrase 'Royal Family.' The Duke of Bedford maintained that it included only those who stood in the order of succession,

while the Lord Chancellor argued that it comprised also the Dowager Princess of Wales, mother of the king. The question was referred to the judges, and it was ultimately arranged, with the understood approval of the king, that words should be introduced, limiting the regency to persons descended from George II. To this exclusion of the Princess Dowager it has been usual to refer the final alienation of the royal mind from the ministry of Mr. Grenville. Such, we are free to acknowledge, was our own impression prior to the perusal of the volumes before us. If, however, reliance is to be placed on Mr. Grenville's narrative—and we know no reason to doubt its integrity—the case is far from being so clear as has been supposed. George III., it is alleged, was a consenting party to the alteration, and that, too, with a design which precludes the supposition of his not understanding its import. The question will be best understood by the following extract from Mr. Grenville's Diary:—

‘The words of the question settled at the Duke of Bedford's, to be proposed to the judges for their opinion, and which Lord Halifax was to lay before the king for his approbation, in order to ascertain whether or no the Princess of Wales was, or was not, included in the words Royal Family, were as follows:—

“What is the interpretation of the words Royal Family according to the legal sense thereof in any act or acts of parliament, where these words have been used?” And in case his majesty was of himself disposed and inclined, as Lord Halifax imagined from what the king had said the day before, to put an end to this doubt, by inserting other words which would not include her Royal Highness, that then the description might be by inserting the following words: “or any person of the Royal Family descended from the late king, his majesty's royal grandfather.”

‘The ministers who dined together agreed that it was indispensably necessary to ascertain the doubt which had been raised in the House of Peers, what persons could be appointed regents under the words “Royal Family,” and that if the opposition in the House of Commons should insist upon an explanation of it, it would be impossible to refuse it.

‘Lord Halifax and Lord Sandwich went to court on Friday the 3rd of May, and on mentioning this difficulty to the king, his majesty proposed to them to explain it by words which would exclude the Princess Dowager; in consequence of which the words above mentioned were immediately agreed to and settled by the king, of which Lord Halifax informed Mr. Grenville by a word as he passed by his lordship to go into the closet: and when Mr. Grenville waited upon the king, his majesty told him he hoped he had settled it with Lord Halifax in such a manner as would obviate all difficulties, and repeated to him the words above mentioned, and informed him at the same time that he had authorized Lord Halifax the day before to put an end to this

doubt ; that Lord Halifax had told him it would make the whole easier, and particularly in the House of Commons, where some gentlemen might otherwise have difficulties about the meaning of the general words.

‘When Lord Halifax went to the House of Lords, Lord Bute came up to him as if by chance, and said some indifferent thing to him (which he had not done before of a long time), and said to him, “My Lord, what have you to move?” to which Lord Halifax said, “the words *now* and *usually* residing in Great Britain.” Lord Bute said, “Why do you not put an end to the doubt at once, by adding the words ‘born in England,’ which would explain the whole, and exclude the princess.’ This Lord Halifax said he was authorized to do, if it should be found expedient. “Why then do you not do it at once? I think it would be the better way; but you know your own business best.” This conversation passed on Thursday the 2nd of May.

‘The king had himself suggested the words to Lord Halifax. This conversation Lord Halifax repeated again to Mr. Grenville on the 8th of May.’—*Ib.* pp. 148–150.

Here is an accumulation of evidence which it is difficult to withstand. Lord Halifax and Mr. Grenville distinctly affirm that the king expressed to them separately his approval of the words in question, and Lord Bute confirms this view by his suggestion to the latter. ‘Lord Halifax repeatedly assured Mr. Grenville that the words “born in England” had been first proposed by the king to him and Lord Sandwich, and that he (Lord Halifax) had rather held back in it, telling his majesty that it might possibly not be necessary.’ The king, however, speedily repented of what he had done, as appears by the following account of what occurred in the royal closet on Sunday, May 5th:—

‘As soon as Mr. Grenville came in, the king coloured, and, with great emotion, said that he had something to speak to him upon, which gave him the greatest uneasiness, which was the mark of disregard shown to the Princess of Wales, his mother, by the words which excluded her alone from the regency; that he had talked upon that subject to the chancellor, who agreed with him in the impropriety of it, and had told him that many people were much offended at it, and that a motion against it would be made by the opposition. The king added that Mr. Grenville must see how strange a thing it would be to have this proposal come, from the opposition, and to be opposed by his servants; that besides, the offence it marked to his mother was what he could not bear, and therefore was desirous to have some means of altering it found out; that the chancellor had said it could not now be done in the House of Lords, but that it might be by a message to the House of Commons.’—*Ib.* p. 152.

The real solution is probably to be found in the state of parties at the time, than which nothing can be imagined more unprincipled. The exclusion of his mother could not but be highly distasteful to the monarch. He acquiesced in it at the

moment in order to avoid a more serious evil, but his real feeling was well known, and the opposition instantly resolved to take advantage of it in order to defeat the ministry. Lord Bute would readily lend himself to such an intrigue. He was just the man to do so, and his counsel to Lord Halifax, we suspect, was prompted by it. He saw the precipice. He knew enough of George III. and of his mother to be assured of what would follow the exclusion of the latter; and therefore readily urged on the ministers in the persuasion that they were thereby insuring their own overthrow. We relieve Mr. Grenville, therefore, from imposing on his royal master, and believe that, in this case, he was the victim of a plot devised by dishonest men, and rendered successful by the factious policy which too commonly ruled amongst the politicians of that day. It was no dishonor to George III. that he felt deeply the exclusion of his mother; but history must not be perverted in order to exonerate him from blame on other accounts, or to shield from public contempt the courtiers who, under the title of 'king's friends,' knew no other law than the royal will, and no higher ambition than to share the patronage dispensed by the Crown. We are no admirers of George Grenville, but he has sins enough to answer for without being charged—as he has frequently been—with imposing on the too credulous faith of the king. Such is, in our judgment, the true explanation of an event which undoubtedly hastened a ministerial crisis, that had, however, been previously resolved on. Had no such measure as the Regency Bill existed, George Grenville must soon have ceased to be the official adviser of the crown. This had been foreseen for some time, and no ingenuity will enable the king's advocates to justify his procedure on the ground of his having been imposed on in the matter of his royal mother.

Negotiations were immediately opened with Mr. Pitt through the medium of the king's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland. Pitt was quite ready to take office, but ultimately declined on Lord Temple refusing to join him. The latter was on the eve of being reconciled to his brother, and it has been usual to explain his refusal on this ground. Such is Lord Mahon's view; but having recently expressed our dissent from it, we need not reopen the question here. Lord Temple was proud and unbending, as well as ambitious. He had received personal affronts from the king, and evidently mistrusted the sincerity of the proposals made to his brother-in-law. Right or wrong, he partook of the universal conviction of his times, that Lord Bute was the evil genius of the commonwealth, and that no ministry was secure so long as his influence was continued. This consideration was probably strengthened by unwillingness to

supplant his brother, from whom he had been estranged for some years, but with whom he was about to renew his former intercourse. They met May 22nd, and 'their meeting,' Mr. Grenville himself tells us, 'was of the most friendly kind, and upon the foot of the most perfect reconciliation.' Failing with Mr. Pitt, application was made to Lord Lyttleton, who, however, had the good sense to decline the tempting offer. The king was thus thrown back on his former ministers, and they, taking advantage of the occasion, laid before the monarchy certain conditions on which they were willing to retain office. George III. did his utmost to induce them to relax in some of their demands, but was at length compelled to yield. 'I see I must yield,' he said; 'I do it for the good of my people.' Such a state of things was not likely to work well. It contained no element of endurance, and while it lasted was not productive of comfort to either party. It therefore awakens no surprise to read in Mr. Grenville's Dairy:—

'When Mr. Grenville went into the king's closet, he found him very gloomy, and with an air of great dissatisfaction.

'Mr. Grenville laid before his majesty the duty and respect which Lord Lorne had expressed to his majesty for his intended goodness to him; to which the king replied,—“It's your goodness, Mr. Grenville, not mine;” and he expressed the same to Lord Sandwich, saying to him, “When Mr. Grenville made the vacancy, I let him fill it up as he pleased.”’—*Ib.* p. 188.

This state of things led to remonstrances, which were probably sometimes expressed in uncourtly phrase. The king, told Mr. Grenville, 'that he had found himself too much constrained, and that when he had anything proposed to him, it was no longer as counsel, but what he was to *obey*.'

In the early part of July the Rockingham administration was formed, whose American policy was strongly opposed to the personal feeling of the king. Their tenure of office was consequently brief, and throughout its continuance they had strong reasons to complain of his secretly intriguing with the opposition against them. At length the king announced to his ministers, July 10th, 1766, 'that he had sent to Mr. Pitt to come and form an administration.' What followed is well known. The Rockinghams were dismissed. Lord Temple again refused to take part with 'the Great Commoner,' and negotiations were opened with the Duke of Bedford, in the hope of strengthening the new administration by the adhesion of his party. The Bedfords were evidently well inclined to the proposal. As Lord Temple affirmed, they were 'very hungry,' and had a sufficiently large share of official patronage been offered they would readily have passed over to the ministerial benches.

Amongst the cliques of the day few are entitled to less respect than that of the Duke of Bedford. Some of them were utterly reckless of principle, whether private or public, and, as a whole, they evidently looked to the gains rather than to the duties of office. The Duke himself was superior to his followers, and though, for a time, his reputation suffered severely from the attacks of Junius, his great fault lay in permitting such men as Mr. Rigby and Lord Sandwich to influence his procedure. But this weakness must not be confounded with the grave charges preferred against him by his anonymous assailant. His grace has recently found able and zealous defenders in Lords Brougham and Russell. Lord Chatham did not estimate the Bedford party so highly as they expected. Only three offices were tendered for their acceptance, and the result is thus reported, under date of December 2nd, in Mr. Grenville's Diary:—

‘Mr. Rigby came to tell Mr. Grenville that the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chatham had disagreed, that both grew warm: Lord Chatham offered nothing more than the office of Master of the Horse for Lord Gower, Postmaster for Lord Weymouth, and Cofferer for Mr. Rigby. He spoke in a very high tone, and told the duke more than once that the cabinet was not afraid. The duke took up these words after they had been twice repeated, and said he did not know what his lordship meant by him; that the king best knew whether he wished to have his friends in employment, and for what reason he had sent to him; that for his part, he neither wished nor meant to force open the door of the cabinet. They parted, having concluded upon nothing. Lord Chatham desired to see him again, which he is to do accordingly to-morrow.’—*Ib.* p. 392.

The Princess of Brunswick, Mr. Grenville tells us, ‘is supposed to have been the person employed by the king to move Lord Gower to bring about all this absurd negotiation, in which the poor Duke of Bedford is so much disgraced.’ The illness of Lord Chatham at this time deprived the ministry of its presiding genius, and paved the way for an entire departure from the policy he contemplated. The Duke of Grafton was its nominal head, and the measures pursued were to a considerable extent the reverse of those with which the fame of the elder Pitt is identified. ‘Then was formed,’ says Lord John Russell, ‘that famous ministry of Lord Chatham, in which Lord Chatham was a cipher; a ministry which overturned his whole plan of policy; persecuted Wilkes till they had nearly raised a rebellion in England; contradicted their supposed chief in every step, and then contradicted and disavowed each other; taxed America, with Mr. Conway in office, the repealer of the Stamp Act, and still the nominal leader of the House of Com-

mons; entered into a conflict with the electors of Middlesex against the opinion of Lord Camden, then Chancellor; and finally, brought upon their heads the voice of Lord Chatham's thunder, when he in vain endeavoured to compose the manes which his own Æolus had lashed into fury.*

Looking back at the events of this inglorious period, we cannot but regret that the friends of constitutional freedom were not aroused to a due sense of the danger which threatened them. Had there been less selfishness and more patriotism; had each been prepared to surrender something in order to the common good; had the views of the chiefs rather than the mercenary interests of subordinates swayed their councils, a strong administration might have been formed, in whose keeping the prerogatives of the crown and the liberty of the people would have been equally safe. The Whig party, however, was endlessly divided, and each section deemed itself most important. At one period there seemed to be a prospect of union. The Dukes of Newcastle, Richmond, and Bedford, with Lords Rockingham and Temple, were ready to engage in such a confederacy; but Mr. Grenville, as the basis of his adhesion, insisted on a condition which Lord Rockingham deemed a reflection on his former policy, and a pledge of future severity towards America. The same nobleman proposed Mr. Conway as leader of the House of Commons, to which the Duke of Bedford peremptorily refused his consent. The negotiation consequently failed, and the 'king's friends' triumphed in the prospect of continued power of mischief.

Lord Chatham, though broken by disease, was still an object of dread. The nature of his malady was enveloped in much mystery, and no communication could be obtained from him. Still the fear of his re-appearance operated as a check. He might—such was the mystery enwrapping him—suddenly present himself on the political arena, and few men were bold enough to hazard the terror of his rebuke. The king himself wrote to Lord Chatham without obtaining an answer, and 'the Court,' says Mr. Hamilton to Lord Temple, July 8th, 'in order to put him as much in the wrong as possible, are determined to wait a day or two longer, and then to consider his silence as equivalent to a refusal.' A postscript to the same letter informs us—and the fact explains a silence otherwise unpardonable—'It is agreed on all hands that Lord Chatham is worse than ever. For the last ten days he has not been out of the house, and for these two days he has not been out of his bed.' By many, his illness was supposed to partake

* Bedford Correspondence, iii. xlv.

of the character of insanity, and there is reason to believe that it did assume some of the features of that terrible malady. 'I have been told,' wrote Mr. Whately to Mr. Grenville, 'that he is really out of his senses.'

The Bedford party ultimately took office under the Duke of Grafton, to the severe mortification of Mr. Grenville and his brother. The tactics which preceded this event are frequently alluded to in the fourth volume of the present work, and they do not raise our estimate of the morality of public men. The duke himself declined office, as his health was broken, his sight greatly impaired, and his spirits sadly shaken by the death of his son. His friends, however, closed with the overtures of the Court, and their conduct was attributed by the Grenvillites to the most mercenary motives. The general feeling of this party was expressed by Mr. Whately, in a letter to Mr. Grenville, June 4th, 1768, when he says:—

'The Bedfords really hate, and are hated by, those with whom they are now connected, and, even with the assistance of all that connection, are weaker in debate in the House of Commons than any other party. These considerations would not restrain mere ambition, but they have a still stronger passion for good places, and to secure lucrative situations, at all events, is the great principle of their politics; no other can reconcile their accepting as they did, and still keeping their attentions towards you.'—Vol. iv. p. 302.

The terms of the union were arranged by the Duke of Grafton, 'without the participation of his brother ministers,' and were highly offensive to the friends of Lord Chatham, who was regarded by the contracting parties as 'politically dead.' For a short time it bolstered up a feeble administration, whose main support was still derived from the name of Lord Chatham. That nobleman remained in a state of extreme prostration, taking no part in public affairs, and being probably, for the most part, unconscious of his even nominally retaining the privy seal. In January, 1768, however, it was necessary to communicate with him, and he immediately requested Lady Chatham to tender his resignation. His colleagues were alarmed, and the king himself wrote in the most pressing terms, entreating him not to resign. 'I am thoroughly convinced,' said his majesty, 'of the utility you are to my service; for though confined to your house, *your name has been sufficient to enable my administration to proceed.* I therefore, in the most earnest manner, call on you to continue in your employment.*' Such an appeal had never been made by English monarch before, and as Chatham was only partially apprized of the

* Chatham Correspondence, iii. 318.

measure pursued, he yielded to the royal wishes, and retained office. His health, however, speedily began to mend, and as his intellect burst through the clouds which encompassed it, he saw, beyond the possibility of doubt, that his personal honor and political consistency, shut him up to an immediate resignation of his post.

In an audience which he had with the king we are told,

‘That Lord Chatham spoke out his sentiments on the conduct of the administration is certain; he blamed their measures with respect to America and the East Indies, in general terms; he dwelled more on the Middlesex election, and hoped that if he was able to take a part, as he believed he should be, next winter, in the House of Lords, his majesty would not impute it to faction, that he stood forth in defence of the constitution, which he thought had been violated; he was very strong and explicit in declaring his opinions on the points which he touched; they were parried, and no direct answer given. The ministers, it is apprehended, advised the inviting him into the closet, and such a reception as he met with there: soon after, they held the language you have heard; *he has paid his visit, and all is over*; but lately they seem to be more apprehensive of the consequences; they do not hold so high a tone; they apparently grow very anxious, and decline business more than ever, prepare nothing, and have all the marks of people who are not very confident of their continuance.’—Ib. p. 431.

His resignation took place in October, and was immediately followed by reconciliation with Lord Temple, which continued uninterrupted to the close of life. What followed is written on the page of history, and should be carefully noted by those who are desirous of understanding the past, or of rightly appreciating the men who did good service to the growth of our freedom. The name of Lord Chatham must be held in grateful remembrance. He had his faults, and some of them were great ones. He was proud and overbearing, contemptuous towards others, self-reliant to a fault, and not unswayed by personal ambition. He was moreover a war-minister, and brooked no opposition to his will, whether from monarchs or his colleagues. The distinguished success which attended his military measures in the earlier period of his ministerial life, confirmed his martial policy, and led him to spurn the prudential considerations which weighed with inferior minds. But after all, he stands out on the canvas of history, the one illustrious personage who redeems his generation from contempt, and fills an age with honor. He is a giant amongst pigmies, alike distinguished by the splendor of his genius, and the nobility of his achievements. Were it not for his services, an extended portion of our history would be a record of meanness without dignity;—of personal dishonor and political profligacy unparalleled since the days of Charles II.

In dismissing these volumes, we tender Mr. Smith our best thanks for the industry and skill with which his editorship has been conducted. In all future researches into the history of the reign of George II., and of the early part of that of George III., his labors will be of incalculable service. The 'Grenville Papers,' with which his name is so honorably associated, are entitled to a high place amongst the best materials of our historical literature.

ART. VIII.—*Progress of Russia in the West, North, and South, by Opening the Sources of Opinion and Appropriating the Channels of Wealth and Power.* By David Urquhart. London: Trübner and Co.

THE revolutionary storm, which in 1848 shook nearly all the thrones of Continental Europe, but slightly affected the Turkish empire. Its Christian population remained quiet almost everywhere. In Moldavia and Wallachia, where French education has become fashionable in the houses of the rich Boyars, attempts were made to alter the old constitution, and to reform it on a broader representative basis; but in Moldavia those attempts were easily suppressed by the Hospodar, whilst the Prince of Wallachia yielded to the reform party,—yet blood was not spilt, either in Jassy or in Bucharest. The Russians, however, eagerly seized this opportunity for extorting a convention from the Porte, by which they were permitted, in case of disturbances, to occupy half of the two Danubian provinces, the other half to be occupied by an equal Turkish force. The convention was immediately carried into execution; and as the occupation of the Principalities served so admirably the further purposes of Russia, and her intervention in Hungary, it is not without reason, that the opinion now prevails in Turkey, that the previous disturbances in the Principalities were secretly encouraged by Russian agents.

During the war of Hungary the Porte behaved in the most friendly way to Austria and Russia. She did not protest when Russia made the Principalities the basis of her military operations in Transylvania. The Pasha of Belgrade allowed the Austrian Consul Mayerhofer to enlist a corps of Servian volunteers against Hungary; and when the Austrian army was expelled from Transylvania by general Bem, the Turks did not disarm the foreign troops who had crossed the frontier. They offered them not only an asylum, but even every assist-

ance for carrying on the war and for invading Hungary again from the neutral territory. Yet when the fortunes of war had turned, and a Hungarian army fled to Turkey for protection, the sultan did not treat them as enemies or as outlaws. He declared that they were his guests; he refused to deliver them up to the vengeance of relentless Austria; though, in order to sooth the jealousy of that vindictive power, he sent them—at the advice of the English government—to a remote Asiatic province, and kept them in a state of honourable imprisonment, surrounding them with guards, but treating them with kindness and liberality. At last the refugees were released, the Principalities were evacuated by the Russians, and the friendly relations were renewed even with Austria. But this peaceable state of Turkey did not last long. It was suspicious that the Russian forces remained concentrated in the neighbourhood of the Turkish frontier; Russian emissaries were seen everywhere amongst the Christian populations of the Ottoman empire, and an old prophecy of a Greek monk, purporting that the sway of the Turks over the Byzantine empire will not last longer than to the fourth anniversary of the capture of Constantinople (May, 1853,) was spread from the hills of Albania and Montenegro to the banks of the Danube and the shores of the Black Sea.

With the beginning of winter an outbreak suddenly took place in the Black Mountains, of which we got but meagre information. We know that the Montenegrines, for more than a century, enjoyed *de facto* independence, and were ruled theocratically by a chief, who, under the title of Wladika, combined the authority of a Greek bishop with that of a native prince. His ecclesiastical investiture and a yearly liberal pay were received from the Russian Czar, and he had principally to exert his moral and material power for preserving peace and restraining the fighting spirit of his subjects, who frequently pounced from the mountains on the unsuspecting Austrian and Turkish traders when they approached the fastnesses of Montenegro.

Last winter a peaceful revolution took place in the Black Mountains, after the death of the late Wladika. We see that the bishopric has been separated from the principedom, though both dignities remained with the princely family of the Petrovich. But whilst Western Europe took no cognizance of these transactions, Russia immediately recognised the independence of the small Principality. The Sultan, whose nominal sovereignty over Montenegro never was questioned before, asked for an explanation of this unusual step, and got from the Russian ambassador the answer, that *it was the independence of the*

Montenegrine church which was acknowledged by the czar, giving up by this act his spiritual supremacy over the Wladika. Yet it seems that the Montenegrines understood the recognition in another way. Without any provocation or previous declaration of war, probably in the hope of Russian support, they attacked the small fortress of Zabiak, on the Lake of Scodra, captured the unsuspecting Turkish garrison, and, according to their fashion, cut off the heads of the prisoners, and sent them to the Prince, who paid for them two ducats a piece. Such an outrage could not remain unrevengeed by the Turks. Without waiting for further orders, Osman, the Pasha of Scodra, levied a sufficient force, and with his undisciplined followers stormed successfully, though not without serious loss, the disputed fortress.* In the meantime, the Seraskier Omer Pasha, then in Bosnia, received orders from the Porte to advance to the mountains with an army of 40,000 men. It was Colonel Rose, who, during the absence of Sir Stratford Canning, represented England in Constantinople, and gave advice to the Porte of chastising summarily the mountaineers before the matter could become the subject of protocols and diplomatic transactions—which experience had proved always fatal to Turkey. The gallant Omer Pasha, a Croat by birth, formerly officer in the Austrian army, had soon occupied the defiles and mountain passes of Montenegro; two thirds of the territory yielded to his power after a short struggle, and he was at the gate of Cetinje, the capital of the province, when his triumphant march was stopped by an imperial order. Austria had taken up the cause of the rebels. General Count Leiningen had arrived from Vienna at Constantinople on an extraordinary mission, requiring from the Porte the cession of some portions of territory, intersecting the continuity of the Austrian possessions on the coast of the Adriatic, and claiming damages for some Austrian subjects engaged in commercial enterprizes in Bosnia, and wronged by the Turkish authorities during the time of the disturbances in that province. But the principal demand was the restoration of the *status quo* in the Black Mountains, and the recognition of the *Austrian protectorate over the Christian Roman-Catholic population in Bosnia.* This population is insignificant in numbers, and therefore no

* It is amusing to see how the Austrian papers, who all took the part of the Montenegrines, give the facts of the case. They announced, first, that Osman Pasha, with 10,000 men, was defeated by 2000 Montenegrines in a pitched battle. Then they said that though the Montenegrines were victorious, yet after the battle, they had evacuated the fortress of Zabiak, at the advice of the Russians; the next tidings were, that they had evacuated it during the battle, till at last they confessed that the mountaineers were driven back into their territory by the successful storm of the Turks on the fortress.

serious objection was expected; but it would have afforded a precious precedent to Russia. The Porte refused the cession of the valley of Suttorina and the district of Kleck; she promised to have the claims of Austrian subjects investigated by a commission; but she found that her Roman-Catholic subjects needed no foreign protection, nor did they claim it. True to her principle, however, of respecting the local self-government of her subjects, and believing that Montenegro had received a sufficiently severe lesson for her uncalled for aggression, the *status quo* was restored in the Black Mountains. The Divan did not even complain that the guns and muskets found with the rebel mountaineers were all marked by the stamp either of the Austrian or of the Russian arsenals, nor that a Russian colonel, Kovalewski, had, with two Austrian officers, directed the defence of the Montenegrines. Austria declared herself satisfied; in fact, she had nothing to demand, but had only acted as the pioneer of Russia.

Scarcely had this storm blown over, when the protectorate of the Christian populations of Turkey was claimed by another power. M. de Lavalette, the French ambassador, reopened the much-vexed question of the Holy Sepulchre, and of the Church of Bethlehem. Those places, sacred to every Christian, had been from old in joint possession of the Greek, Armenian, and Latin churches in the Holy Land. The numerical superiority of the Greeks gave them naturally more weight, and imbued them with a domineering spirit. Scuffles and riots often took place in sight of the Holy Sepulchre, and Turkish cavasses (policemen) had more than once to separate the fanatical monks who warred with one another on those very spots which should have inspired them with brotherly love. The kings of France, always the allies of Turkey, had supported the claims of the Latin minority; and in 1740, secured by a treaty, an equal share in the guardianship of the holy places to them; but this equality could not be maintained by the Latins, who were only an unimportant fraction as compared with the Greeks, and Russia, which backed her coreligionaries, had in the meantime extended her power and pretensions. The Greeks, therefore, naturally obtained a preponderance not disputed by France. This year, however, the French Government suddenly insisted that the original settlement should be put in force, in spite of the alterations which had crept in during a century. The question is, of course, not an international one; the settlement of the disputes between the subjects of Turkey cannot affect foreign powers. But France put forward her *protectorate over the Latin Church in Syria and the Holy Land*, and the Sultan, bullied by De Lavalette, and too conscientious not to feel bound by a treaty, though a century old, yielded to the demand of the Emperor Na-

oleon III. The Russian ambassador had, during the negotiations, scarcely taken part in the affair; but as soon as it was settled, he protested solemnly against the arrangement, as a violation of the rights of the Greek Church. The French Government saw now that it had been led into a snare, and that Turkey had probably to rue for having yielded to Lavalette's demand, and Napoleon—to his honour be it said—withdrew immediately his claims; the *status quo* was restored. But Russia could not be so easily satisfied. A violent man, Prince Menschikoff, was sent to Constantinople. In a high-handed way he enforced the dismissal of the minister who had agreed to the French propositions, and the Sultan was required to sign a declaration which gave a virtual protectorate to the Czar over all the twelve millions of Greek Christians in Turkey. Austria and France had been his pioneers in that question. The western powers now took alarm at this demand; they advised the Sultan not to yield. The consequence of this step is the occupation of the Danubian Principalities in time of peace by the Russians, and an insolent proclamation, branded by public opinion all over Europe, in which the Czar, the violator of the treaties of 1815, the destroyer of Poland, who had urged Austria to confiscate Cracow, the merciless persecutor of the Protestant and of the Roman-Catholic church, charges the Sultan with perjury, and appeals to God in the impending struggle!

Though all the craft of diplomacy is now employed to maintain peace, it is difficult, *at this moment*, to say whether it is possible to avoid war. It is, therefore, of importance to cast a rapid glance on the moral and material condition of Turkey, now that she has, perhaps, to fight for her very existence. Much misconception prevails on these topics, which can be cleared up only by a careful investigation of facts.

The West generally looks upon the Ottoman Empire as upon a dead body without vitality,—as on a realm held together only by its inertness, by the forbearance of its neighbours, and the mutual jealousy of the great powers of Europe, which are unable to come to an understanding about the spoils. It is always repeated that there are scarcely any roads in the country; that the Turks have no aptitude either to industrial or commercial enterprise; that they do not participate in the busy movement of Europe; are stationary and unproductive in arts and literature, and therefore doomed to perish by the contact and intercourse of civilization, like the red Indians or black Papuas. Lamartine called Turkey, in a public speech, the inheritance of Russia. Certainly it is an empire, eastern in its character, different from those which we are accustomed to see and to deal with in Europe. We see in Turkey a dominant race extending

its sway over many nationalities, different in creed, institutions, and interests, none of them admitted to the imperial administration, not called to the defence of the empire, and not imbued with any peculiar affection towards the rulers, who seem to hold the territory in the same way as they conquered it—by the sword. These general outlines apply to many other eastern empires, British India not excepted, and riots and partial insurrections are not easily to be avoided in such a state of things. But, on the whole, there is less ill will among the different nations of Turkey towards their masters than in Hindostan against the East India Company, because the Turks are no centralizers. They do not interfere with the local self-government of the communities; they tolerate every religious creed, and acknowledge and maintain the traditional local institutions of the different provinces; they have even excluded themselves from the territory of Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia. With the exception of the garrison of Belgrade, there is, in time of peace, no Turk to be found in all the three Danubian Principalities, which are governed by natives, according to their laws and customs.

‘Here, at least,’ says Mr. Urquhart, ‘the complaints against the misrule of the Turks are exaggerated. They could not misrule much where they did not rule at all, nor be ferocious where never present; their haughty carelessness removed deep grounds of opposition, and their subjects could not suspect them of insidious designs, far less of theoretic views, against their old institutions. The barbarism of Turkey was sterling, a barbarism of gold, beside the pinchbeck civilization of the Russians; it inflicted neither conscription nor serfage, warred with no peculiarity of tongue, opinion, or habit, and blessed the nations not with uniformity or centralization.’

Therefore, though the Turks are not much loved by their Christian subjects, their nominal rule is by far preferred either to that of Austria or of Russia.

It is true that the condition of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and the Lebanon, is exceptional; they enjoy semi-independence; they have a provincial life, not only a communal one. They are governed by chiefs of their own choice, have a kind of representative government, and are subject to Turkey only so far as they pay a yearly fixed tribute, and as their foreign policy is regulated by the Divan. But in other provinces too it is a great principle with the Turks to interfere as little as possible with their domestic affairs. The bishop or priest carries on the local affairs of the Christians, in concert with the elected elders, in every town or village; the Kadi settles the disputes of the Turks; and in cases where the parties belong to different creeds, there is a kind of jury, formed in equal numbers out of the members of both religions, to advise the judge and to

control his decision. This recognition of the principle of local self-government by the Turks is the stronghold of their sway. It is this principle which holds together so many nationalities, who, if disgusted or driven to despair, would easily emancipate themselves from Turkish dominion.

If we pass in review the populations of European Turkey, we find that the Daco-Romans (Wallachians) in Moldavia and Wallachia, who, in 1821, were incited by Russia to rebellion, and did not disguise their sympathies for the Czar, have by the reiterated Russian occupations, and the extortions of the army, become reconciled with their lot as nominal Turkish subjects. They prefer the Turks they never see to the liberating armies of the Czar which they have to feed. Since they have made acquaintance with the civilized absolutism of Russia, they begin to like the inertness of Turkey. In Servia, again, the southern Slavonians of dark complexion—a different race from the northern fair Slavonians and Croats—are fully satisfied with their *de facto* independence. Though belonging to the Greek Church, they are no longer enemies of the Turks, and no allies of the Czar in a war against the Sultan.

The condition of Bosnia differs much from that of the neighbouring principality of Servia, where the landed aristocracy either perished on the battle-field in the 15th century, or emigrated to Hungary. Therefore, when in the struggles of the present century, the Serbs were relieved from the pressure of the Pashas, and got the same control of their affairs which Moldavia and Wallachia always had enjoyed, the commonwealth developed itself on a democratic basis, as the population consists entirely of small independent landed proprietors, none of them a serf or villain, and none the owner of a princely domain. In Bosnia, which is likewise peopled by a Slavonic race, but of Roman-catholic faith, the landed aristocracy has not been destroyed by the conquest in the 15th century, for the landlords maintained their feudal rights and social position by becoming Mussulmans. Secluded from Western Europe and its civilization, the peasantry was kept under the iron rule and feudal control of their landlords. This oppression led them last year to an insurrection, which, though nothing else than a servile war of the hut against the manor, was described by the Austrian organs as a religious contest, and an attempt at emancipation from the Mohamedan yoke of the Porte. The outbreak was easily put down by Omer Pasha, but the forces he commanded enabled him to do something for the peasantry of Bosnia. He did not restore them to the tender mercies of their landlords, but enforced the *tanzimat*, the fundamental law of reformed Turkey, which ensures the rights of the subjects of

the Sultan, without respect to religion. Its benefits were extended likewise to that lonely province where, until that period, the local power of the landlords had always thwarted the effects of that protecting hattisherif.

In Bulgaria and Albania the people enjoy complete local self-government; but the Greek Church, to which they belong, seems to lack the vitality of the Western Churches. It is averse to the instruction of the people; it does not develop their energies; it does not warm their feelings; it does not even act upon their imagination. The Turkish government throws no positive difficulties in the way of any improvement by the people itself; but the Slavonians in Turkey have no desire of progress and improvement: they are mummified, like their church. In case of a Russian war, the Christian populations of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Macedonia would remain passive spectators of the contest; but the Moldavians and Wallachians would faithfully aid the armies of the sultan, and the warlike Servians and Albanese would gather around the crescent. It was to prevent such a result that the Russians occupied the two Principalities in time of peace, declaring that this—the invasion of two provinces!—is not meant to be war, and thus stripped the Sultan of considerable resources, and approached the capital within five days' march. With one word, they got by a trick as much as they had won in 1828 by a whole campaign. This new position, besides that it furnishes the commissariat with provisions for the approaching campaign, becomes for Russia likewise the lever for acting on all the Christian populations of Turkey, for creating a revolution in Servia in the interest of Michel Obrenovitch, for organizing a new aggression of Scutari by the Montenegrines, amongst whom Russian military decorations have just been distributed by Prince Daniel, and for fomenting outbreaks in the Lebanon. These intrigues excite, of course, the fanaticism of the Mussulman population. Yet though on both sides it is the holy war which is preached—the war of the crescent and of the Greek cross—the result mainly depends, after all, on the military condition of the belligerent powers.

As to the Turkish army, public opinion in Western Europe does not believe it to be efficient enough for a Russian war. The disastrous campaign of 1828, 1829, and the battle of Nisib, against the Egyptian forces of Ibrahim Pasha, have destroyed the prestige of Turkish valour. But as to the latter, we should not forget that the then victorious Egyptian army is now at the disposal of the Sultan, and belongs to the resources of Turkey, and that the cravings for the separation and independence of Egypt have been buried with the genius of old Mehemet Ali. In respect to the campaign of 1828, the Russians

as well as the Turks have a settled opinion, which differs widely from that of our politicians. Let us hear the Russian diplomatist. Count Pozzo di Borgo writes, in 1829,—

‘The experience we have just made, must now reconcile all opinions in favour of the resolution which has been taken. The emperor has put the Turkish system to the proof, and his majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organization which it hitherto had not. If the sultan has been enabled to offer us a determined and regular resistance, whilst he had scarcely drawn together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how formidable should we have found him, had he had the time to give to it more solidity, and to render that barrier impenetrable, which we find so much difficulty in surmounting; though so little has hitherto been done by science to assist nature.’

Let us remember, it was scarcely two years before the Russian invasion that the sultan exterminated the old unruly Janissaries, and began to organize a disciplined standing army, founded on conscription of the Mahometan population. Since that time this army has been trained, and has become popular. The Turks have confidence in it, and are not discouraged by the disasters of the last Russian war. When Kossuth mentioned them to Zia Pasha, of Widdin, a Turk of the old school, he replied, in the Oriental way, by a parable:—‘A lord,’ said he, ‘had an olive-garden, but the trees were old, and did not yield any fruit; he had them, therefore, cut down, and planted an orchard in their stead. But before the saplings were firmly rooted in the soil, a hurricane arose, and damaged the property considerably. But now the fruit-trees have grown up; and defy the fury of the storm. The olive-trees were the Janissaries, the hurricane the Russians, and the fruit-trees in the orchard our present army.’

The Hungarian officers who have lived in Asia Minor, unanimously affirm that the Turkish soldier is far superior in every respect to the Russian infantry, that the cavalry compares with the Hungarian hussars, that the artillery is excellent, and that all which is wanted are some good superior officers. It is on this point only that the Turks are deficient. Yet in case of an Austro-Russian war against Turkey, it is just this deficiency which would be most easily supplied.

But war is not carried on with soldiers and armies alone, it is carried on with money. ‘To make war,’ said Montecucculi, ‘three things are required—money, and again money, and once more, money.’ It is true that, in this respect, the condition of Turkey is not very brilliant. Formerly the exactions of the Pashas often impoverished the provinces. A Pasha was a pro-

consul, and it depended on his moral character whether the pashalik was prosperous and flourishing, or declining and depopulated, whilst the finances of the central government were entirely in the hands of the Armenian bankers of Constantinople. Yet the expenditure and the income of the empire were exactly balanced, and no loan was necessary. The Ottoman Empire never was blessed with a national debt. The reforms of Sultan Mahmoud and of Abdul Medjid were not confined, as is commonly stated, to the *costume*: the arbitrary power of the Pashas was considerably curtailed. They could not continue their exactions, which are now carried on only in a few remote provinces. But the venality of the chief officers of state in Constantinople could not be so easily eradicated, though the Sultan had seriously forbidden them to accept presents. Even Reschid Pasha, the leader of the reform party, is not altogether free from that moral stain, and the Armenian bankers retained their control over all the money matters. Last autumn the Sultan was persuaded to give his consent to a loan to be negotiated at Paris and London; but the Turkish ambassador in France, Prince Kallimaki, a Greek of the Fanar, did not comply with the terms prescribed by the firman of the sultan; he contracted for a larger amount of money, for a longer term, and at a higher commission. The scrips were issued, the first instalment was made, and such was the confidence of capitalists in the honesty of the Turkish government, that the scrip commanded in a few days six to ten per cent. premium. When the Sultan was informed of the treacherous conduct of his ambassador, he recalled him and repudiated the loan. Prince Kallimaki did not return to Constantinople, he expatriated himself to Greece, and became a subject of King Otho. The Exchanges of Paris and London raised a cry against the bad faith of Turkey; but in spite of their loud denunciations, *the repudiated scrip remained always above par*, the most practical evidence of the confidence placed in the Turkish government. And this confidence was fully justified. The Porte paid back, with interest, not only every farthing received, but even the imaginary damages for lost profits. The governments of Portugal, Spain, Mexico, the South American Republics, and the Southern States of the American Union, should take a lesson in honest dealing from the Mahometan empire. It is therefore clear, that in case Turkey should once more require the aid of the capitalists of Western Europe, she always would be able to get money at reasonable terms, after such an experience as the last loan has afforded to the money market.

In military and in financial respects, Turkey is able to make a resolute resistance to the encroachments of Russia, and the

friends of the balance of power in Europe have no reason to fear her speedy dismemberment, and the quarrels of the great powers about the spoils. The present crisis itself will remain an evidence of the vitality of the Ottoman empire, because it shows that Turkey is able to make all the material sacrifices required in a great struggle, which she has not provoked, but if necessary, will meet. It is not by the brutal force of Russia that the Christian populations of Turkey can be roused, and raised to higher civilization. Such a revolution can be achieved only by a reformation of the Oriental church, and there is as yet no symptom that such an event is at hand. Yet we cannot give up the hope that this large portion of the church will awake from her deathlike torpor. The Roman-catholic church, though obscured by superstition, has never altogether lost her originating power, in art, literature, sciences, and politics. In some countries vitality enough remained to cast off the errors of dark ages, and to return to the purer forms of early Christianity,—the Reformation, though repudiated by her, is yet her offspring. But the Greek church has remained barren for ten centuries; no Thomas a Kempis, no Dante, no Rafael has ennobled her; she has not given rise to any philosophical school; nor awakened in her followers the self-sacrificing labours of missionaries, or of those philanthropists who devote their life to the amelioration of the condition of the oppressed and morally degraded. She proselytizes only by force and violence. As long therefore as she remains in such a state as we see her now, both in Russia and in Greece, it is in vain for the Czar to appeal to the *Christian* sympathies of Europe.

Though Turkey can rely on the strength and discipline of her army, and the soundness of her credit, and though she still commands the sympathies of Europe, yet in diplomacy she will always be overreached by her formidable neighbour, which has hitherto been superior to all the other great powers, England not excepted. Mr. Urquhart has taken the trouble of collecting the evidences of Russian craft from the diplomatic history of the last thirty years. His book is a valuable publication on contemporaneous history; written in his well-known, brilliant, but often elliptical style; characterized by that violence of indignation, depth of inquiry, and warmth of feeling, covered by a contemptuous sneer, which gives a peculiar charm, and a strange eccentricity to all the productions of this author. His views are nearly always novel, and contrary to those commonly received amongst politicians. Their correctness may be doubted by some, but they will be remembered by all who have read them. Mr. Urquhart is well

aware of it, and he describes himself and his books most admirably by telling us in the preface:—

‘My acquaintance with the countries and men here treated of, has not been derived from books. All of the first I have visited; with most of the second I have had intercourse, and with reference to the subjects. As to the events, I have watched them from near; in respect to some of them, from myself has originated the plan, or the opposition. With such transactions, in the ordinary course of life, men exercising representative or ministerial functions can alone become acquainted; I have had the opportunity of taking part in them, on no other ground, whatever, save objections to measures or opinions. The key that has opened to me the door, has been a phrase, which almost invariably closes it—“You are wrong!”’

As regards the great diplomatic contest of England and Russia in the East, carried on for so many years, and always to the advantage of the Czar, Mr. Urquhart justly remarks:—

‘In the unit, England is vigorous and intelligent; in the mass, passive and inert. Russia, individually, is sluggish and incapable; but as a state active and able. England pursues the profits of speculation, and looks no further than trade; but in both cases Russia is exactly the reverse. The feelings with which they regard every other country, are exactly the converse the one to the other. England rejoices in the prosperity of all countries which supply raw produce; Russia looks on them with hatred, because with fear; wherever there is a country which does produce, or is fitted to produce grain, timber, oil, tallow, hides, or hemp, thither England sends her merchants to buy; Russia her emissaries to convulse.’—p. 295.

The object of the diplomatic negotiations in the East for the last thirty years is the commerce of the Danubian principalities, and their rivalry with the exports of Odessa. The subjects of Turkey are not hampered in their trade by fiscal restrictions, the doctrine of free-trade having always been the leading policy of the Porte, Galatz, and Ibrail; the commercial marts of the principalities on the Danube have, therefore, much advantage over Odessa and the ports of Russia. The great object of the Czar in those quarters is evident—to cripple the resources of Moldavia and Wallachia, and to shut up the navigation of the Danube. Our readers will find in Mr. Urquhart’s publication all the details, how Russia obtained possession of the principal mouth of the Danube, and how she closed it practically by her quarantine regulations, and by the artificial accumulation of mud at the bar of the river. It will be found in the English charts of 1834 that thirteen feet of water are marked as the maximum at the entrance of the Danube, but since the Russians have been in possession of the Sulina mouth, there have been no more than seven, and sometimes only five feet of water on

the bar. Russia is bound by treaty to do the necessary dredging; but who will compel her to comply with the treaty? And yet the interests at stake are considerable, even now, when the resources of the country have not been developed. The 'Bankers' Circular,' July 2nd, 1853, says:—

'Since we have opened our ports for the free importation of foreign grain, our trade with Russia has gradually declined, but from the same period that of Turkey has gradually increased; and while the former has diminished nearly fifty per cent., the latter has risen to the same extent since 1845. In 1850 the exports of Indian corn from the port of Galatz, amounted to upwards of 1,400,000 quarters. Our exports of merchandise to Galatz, in 1850, amounted to about £435,000, and to Ibrail to about £463,000. A third of our importations of foreign grain (value £12,000,000) is in the hands of the Greek merchants of the Mediterranean.'

According to Mr. Urquhart :

'Up to the year 1833, no direct trade had been carried on between England and the Euxine, whither, however, a large quantity of her goods were sent by Constantinople and Germany; at the fair of Leipsic alone, the demand amounted to £300,000. In the following year two British vessels entered the Danube, in the next year fifteen, in the course of 1836 twice that number were expected; the native traffic in small vessels amounting to between 700 and 800 cargoes. This rapid development roused Russia to the adoption of decisive measures, which were as minute as they were daring, as intricate as comprehensive; now discrediting a firm, now firing on a brig, now fingering kegs of butter and skins of tallow, now grasping an estuary: at last came the "crowning work,"—the robbery from Europe of its principal river by care for its health!

'The exports are raw and heavy produce, for which water carriage is essential. The return, manufactured articles, might bear the charges of land carriage, but the demand is limited by the amount of exportation. The Danube is not only the only water communication, but it is the only road. *Ores of metals* (its mines were the richest of the Roman empire); *rocksalt* (of which it contains mountains); *timber* (with which the sides of its mountains are clothed); *hides, wool, tallow, sheep, goatskins* (flocks and herds may be multiplied to any extent), *grain* (in 1833 and 1834, when Russia, suffering from famine, was supplied by them, although recently relieved from occupation, and still suffering from the effect of a war, which had drawn from them five millions sterling, and destroyed one quarter of the cattle); *hemp* of the finest quality (in the year 1835, it competed in London with that of St. Petersburg, notwithstanding the quadruple charge of transport): such were the products they could offer to England. Nor are these all: the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia were anxious to rival the Pasha of Egypt in the production of cotton (upon the importance to England of multiplying the sources, and augmenting the amount of

that raw material, it is needless to dwell), and a vast region is available for the culture of the mulberry.

‘The basin of the Danube producing, as we have seen, exactly the same articles as Russia, every ton exported from the Danube was a ton less exported from Odessa or St. Petersburg. But besides the difference in the source, competition would have affected the price; one shilling reduction on the cwt. of tallow or the quarter of grain, is a loss to Russia of from £50,000 to £100,000.’—p. 300.

This commercial view of the Eastern question begins to be understood by the public; the ‘Times’ correspondent from Berlin, under date of June 29th, takes the same view, by saying—‘The war which threatens now to break out may be also represented as a struggle between restriction and freedom in commerce. The commercial resources of Turkey and the Danubian Principalities are the prize, which Russia longs to carry off.’

We close our review by two remarkable extracts from Mr. Urquhart’s preface, in which he treats the present crisis; they refer to the results of the protracted negotiations before the Principalities are evacuated. According to him,—

‘The movement on the Danube bears on the internal condition of the Russian Empire. It is the exportation of those Provinces which principally competes with those of Russia in the markets of England and Europe. Her army will therefore be fed by provisions that otherwise would have reached the Thames, to the exclusion there of grain from St. Petersburg and Odessa. The very connexion which has sprung up between England and the Danubian provinces will assist her in suppressing them. Her movement taking place at the shipping season, the City will be thrown into alarms respecting supplies which a war with Russia would endanger; and so the English Government, if ever called to account for not having taken effectual steps after all this wild agitation, will be able triumphantly to refer to the necessities of England as limiting their power of action.’

The results are not less serious for the peace of all the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Our author justly remarks:

‘The Turkish military organization is entirely local, and in that consists not only its excellence, but its economy. The Rediff (militia) follow their ordinary occupations and assemble for exercise only during one month in the year. By forcing Turkey to arm, and to assemble her troops on the frontiers, besides the sacrifice in money, there will be also the exhaustion of spirit and goodwill. The army, especially the Rediff, however ardent at present, will be disgusted by being uselessly drawn from their native provinces, and the indignation of the Mussulmans will turn from Russia on their own government. The admission was recently made by the ‘Times’:—“In fact, the indefinite prolongation of the present state of suspense may prove more injurious to the Porte than war itself. These preparations have given a shock to the Otto-

man Empire, which it will long feel, if, indeed, it ever recovers from the effects of them. While our attention is directed to the negotiations of the day, it must not be forgotten that there is at the bottom of these discussions the greatest question which the statesmen of this age have yet to solve."

Brief Notices.

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Contributions to the Edinburgh Review. By Francis Jeffrey.

8vo. pp. 1005. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

It is scarcely necessary to do more than announce the publication of this volume. The first edition of Lord Jeffrey's 'Contributions' consisted of four volumes, the second of three, and now the *whole* are comprised in one bulky volume, printed in a clear and very legible type, on beautiful paper, and in a style worthy of the reputation of the publishers. Such a production betokens an advanced state of popular literature, and is creditable alike to the taste of the public and to the enterprise of the Messrs. Longmans. It would be difficult to select any single volume in the whole range of English literature which contains so much acute criticism, sound philosophy, and refined taste. It is no mere figure of speech, no exaggeration of simple truth, to say that the wide circulation of such a volume must be largely beneficial, in correcting prevalent misconceptions, storing the public mind with accurate views on history, literature, and philosophy, and awakening to independent and thoughtful research the young intellect of the age. Different opinions may, and of course will be, entertained on many of the views propounded. Pleas will be urged

on behalf of favorite authors, in arrest of judgment; and charges of prejudice, of partial information, of cliqueship, of arbitrary and hasty decisions, may be advanced. From some of these we are not concerned to defend Lord Jeffrey, yet we maintain, without scruple or fear, that the dross is infinitesimally small compared with the gold, and that the latter is so pure as to be entitled to pass as sterling coin. Our young friends will do well to make this volume their special companion. We strongly advise their doing so, and are sure they will never regret having acted on our counsel. Its contents are as interesting as they are valuable. There is a fascination in its style which is surpassed only by the merit of its disquisitions, and the exceeding beauty of many of its theories.

The Life and Death of Silas Barnstarke. A Story of the Seventeenth Century. By Talbot Gwynne. pp. 342. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE style of this volume, like its typography, partakes of the character of a former, rather than of the present, generation. It is succinct and nervous, not flowing and ornate;—free from studied pedantry, yet carrying our thoughts back to the age of our fathers. Silas Barnstarke is a compound of selfishness and cupidity, whose sole passion was the accumulation of wealth, prompted at first by an intense desire to recover the estates of his ancestry, but subsequently indulged for its own sake, without regard to the welfare or rights of others. The progress of this passion is strongly marked, though its starting point scarcely consists with probability. Silas had a brother, Walter, whose character and career were the reverse of his own. The former sought wealth in commerce, the latter devoted himself to the service of the church, with a purity and benevolence rarely equalled. The evil passion of the elder brother rapidly extinguished every virtuous sentiment in his breast. The successful merchant became the murderer of his cousin, Francis Lovell, in the hope of possessing his estate, and then charged an innocent man with the deed. A verdict of 'wilful murder' was consequently returned against Abraham Jarvis, who was hung for the offence, while the real criminal possessed himself of the prize for which he had steeped his soul in crime, only to find that it 'weighed upon his spirit like lead.' The end of Silas Barnstarke was as miserable as his career had been guilty. Seized by the plague, he fled from London, frantic and in despair, to die in the arms of his brother, confessing himself the murderer of Lovell, and anticipating the horrors of perdition. The tender and loving Walter—a personification of rare virtues—caught the plague from Silas, and was interred in the same grave. Such is a bare outline of the tale, in which there are some grave improbabilities. Master Benson, the shrewd and successful yet kind-hearted merchant, who contributed so materially to Silas's prosperity, could scarcely have failed to discern the strength of his evil passion, and, discerning it, ought, in consistency, to have rebuked it

more sternly. Murder was not needful to the moral which the tale inculcates, and only serves to diminish its power by awakening incredulity. Moreover, the end of Silas should have been the detection of his crimes and the loss of his wealth, while that of Walter, instead of the absurd scene enacted at the brother's grave, should have been such as might sustain fainting resolutions, and embolden a sense of right. Gross injustice is also done throughout the volume to the *puritan* character. The specimens introduced are such as passed current fifty years back, but are now rejected by all intelligent and well-read men. It is too late in the day to describe Cromwell as an 'iron-souled hypocrite,' or to represent his feelings when sentence was pronounced against Charles, as similar to those of the murderer Silas. To do this is to destroy one's own credit rather than to lower the reputation of one of the most illustrious, however erring, of our race.

History of the Byzantine Empire, from DCCXVI. to MLVII. By George Finlay, Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature. 8vo. pp. xii. 542. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1853.

THE preface of this history is dated from Athens, whence we infer that the author is the gentleman who figured so conspicuously some time ago in the political dispute between England and Greece. It is designed to be both a popular history, and an index for scholars less familiar with the Byzantine than with the classical writers. The gorgeous chapters of Gibbon have created an almost universal interest in the course along which Mr. Finlay undertakes to guide us. He divides his work into two BOOKS, the first treating of the contest with the Iconoclasts; the second, the Basilian dynasty. The first book contains four chapters—on the Isaurian Dynasty, A.D. 717—797; Reign of Nicephorus I., Michael I., and Leo V. (the Armenian), A.D. 802—820; the Amorion Dynasty, A.D. 820—867, and the state of the Byzantine empire during the Iconoclast period. The second book contains three chapters on the consolidation of Byzantine legislation and despotism, A.D. 867—963; period of conquest and military glory, A.D. 963—1025; and period of conservatism and stationary prosperity, A.D. 1025—1057. The preceding history of Greece under the Romans, and its subsequent history, from its conquest by the Crusaders to its conquest by the Turks, have been already published by Mr. Finlay, so that the present volume may be regarded as partly filling up the space between the periods illustrated in his previous volumes. At the present time, when the eyes of the world are turned to Constantinople, men will naturally read with interest the memorials of its former history.

Having traced the progress of the Eastern Roman Empire through an eventful period of three centuries and a half, together with the causes of its revival during that period, Mr. Finlay contrasts the spirit of conservatism which withered its energies with the great change which the eleventh century witnessed in Western Europe. We com-

mend the work for the authoritative character of its information, and its succinct and business-like style, and have only to regret the absence of that brilliant painting which gives such vivacity to the pages of Gibbon. We presume that the author intends to complete his series by writing the history of the Crusades, and the final conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

Discourses on Important Subjects. By the Rev. Robert Ferguson, LL.D.
8vo. pp. 392. London: Ward and Co. 1853.

THESE Discourses are seventeen in number, not miscellaneous, nor strictly systematic, yet arranged according to what the author calls 'a law of suggestion.' It is not possible, in the crowded state of the claims so rapidly pressing on us, to devote to the volume so large a space as its intrinsic qualities deserve. It is due to the themes discussed, and to the manner of the discussion, that we should characterise them *generally* as the fruits of eminently meditative preparation, remarkably rich and beautiful in diction. Unlike many sermons which, when delivered by a powerful speaker, produce on a large congregation such impressions as cannot be revived by silent reading, they appear to us to be purposely adapted to the solitude and calmness of the chamber. They will be valued in proportion to the intelligence, thoughtfulness, and reverent disposition of the reader; some of them will commend themselves rather than others, according to the reader's habits and moods; but we can scarcely conceive of a devout and cultured mind rising from the study of any one of them without feeling wiser, holier, stronger for work, better prepared for suffering, nearer to God and to heaven. Speaking of them *theologically*, we are thankful to observe a wise avoidance of extremes, a conscientious reverence for Revelation, a fast hold of fundamental principles, a philosophical independence in dealing with human theories, and a happy power of exhibiting in their natural harmony truths which have been too much kept asunder. We miss, it is true, the stately eloquence of Hall, the torrent-like force of Chalmers, and several of the elements which ensure popularity to the plain and earnest preaching of the gospel; but, while we candidly acknowledge a comparative want of breadth—fervour—strikingness—persuasiveness—qualities which have so much power in sermons for the many—we are far from thinking that the gentler teaching of these 'Discourses' will not be equally acceptable, and, what is more important, equally profitable, to the lonely reader, or to the guide in family devotion. We hope that, not only they who have benefitted by the author's oral ministry, but very many others, will avail themselves of the sound and varied instruction which is here presented to them. It is our conviction that 'Discourses' of *the right kind for reading* are—in the proportion of readers to hearers—quite as well appreciated as 'Discourses' of the right kind for hearing, and we bear our willing testimony to the claims of this volume to a distinguished place in the class to which it avowedly belongs.

Annals, Anecdotes, and Legends : A Chronicle of Life Assurance. By John Francis. pp. 327. London: Longman and Co.

MR. FRANCIS'S previous works on the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, and English railways, have familiarized the public with his name, and rendered his character as an author well known. The present volume is precisely similar in its general features to its predecessors. It makes no pretensions to a scientific treatment of the subject of assurance, but, as the title-page imports, is a collection of anecdotes and legends, some of which are full of the deepest tragedy. Much industry has been employed in collecting them, and if occasionally we regret that a severer judgment has not been exercised in their selection, we readily admit that considerable tact is displayed in the arrangement of materials, and that the whole are so combined as to form a very attractive volume, which wins greatly on the reader as he proceeds in its perusal. 'The many legends and traditions of the subject,' says Mr. Francis, 'form a page from the romance of Mammon, which, remarkable as some of the stories may appear, and fearful as many of them are, form but a small portion of the sad and stern realities attached to the annals of life assurance.' The history of life assurance is deeply interesting, and full of instruction; and the present volume, though not assuming to meet the wants of the scientific inquirer, is well adapted to popularize the theme, and to draw towards it increased attention. As such we commend it to our readers, none of whom can rise from its perusal without a deeper sense of the importance of the science, and the obligation of providing by its means for their dependents. The multiplicity of new assurance companies now competing for business, renders it specially desirable that the public should be on their guard against such as are unsound in principle or fraudulent in design.

Tour on the Continent, by Rail and Road, in the Summer of 1852, through Northern Germany, Austria, Tyrol, Austrian Lombardy, &c.

By John Barrow, Esq. pp. 126. London: Longman and Co.

2. *Swiss Men and Swiss Mountains.* By Robert Ferguson. pp. 143. London: Longman and Co.

THESE publications belong to the 'Traveller's Library,' and are specially appropriate to this season of the year. The first consists of notes written at the time, and furnishes much useful information respecting the route pursued. Those who are thinking of following Mr. Barrow's course will do wisely to possess themselves of his little volume. He visited Ostend, Antwerp, Cologne, Hanover, Berlin, Dresden, Saxon Switzerland, Prague, Vienna, Venice, Milan, Geneva, Paris, and various intermediate places. 'These pages,' he modestly says, 'can claim no other title than to be considered as a brief itinerary, chiefly of dates and distances—a species of *avant courier* to Murray—with a few observations made on the rail and road *en passant*.' Something more than this, however, is furnished, and no tourist will regret having made the author's acquaintance.

Mr. Ferguson's volume is very interesting. Its range is more contracted than that of Mr. Barrow, but its theme is peculiarly interesting, and its style is highly attractive. There is a geniality throughout it which cannot fail to please, while its rightmindedness is in honorable contrast to the sickly sentimentalism, and disgusting snob-bishness, which unhappily characterize some English tourists. Whoever is projecting a visit to Switzerland, should procure 'Swiss Men and Swiss Mountains' with the least possible delay.

The Crimes of the House of Hapsburg against its own Liege Subjects.
By F. W. Newman. pp. 60. London: John Chapman.

THIS small volume forms the Eighth of 'Chapman's Library for the People,' and it prefers a terrible indictment against the House of Hapsburg. The recent events in Hungary and Italy probably suggested its preparation, but Professor Newman has looked much farther than these facts, and without aiming at original research, has skilfully extracted from our popular histories the materials needed for his sketch. Unhappily those materials are ample, and lie on the very surface of history, so that judgment in selection, rather than copiousness of illustration, must have been needed. 'The crime,' he says, 'which history charges against the House of Austria, is not merely that they have waged unjust and cruel wars against foreigners (that is guilt too common here to touch), but that having been freely accepted to protect the laws and liberties of a large number of nations, they have in every instance played the part of a guardian who murders his ward.' To this we fear there is no reply, and so surely as 'righteousness exalteth a nation' will Austria yet exhibit the tokens of that retribution which a system of moral government involves. Our readers will find Professor Newman's narrative deeply interesting, and we commend it to their early perusal.

Life of William Lord Russell. By Lord John Russell. Fourth Edition. pp. 470. London: Longman and Co.

THE *Life* of Lord William Russell has long been out of print. In common with many of our countrymen, we have regretted this fact, as there are few books better adapted to guide an intelligent inquirer through the stormy maze of the politics of the reign of Charles II. Without any pretensions to genius; with no one showy or splendid quality; Lord W. Russell won the confidence and esteem of the virtuous of all classes. His character was cast in the best English mould,—simple, unpretending, and earnest; the idol of his family; implicitly trusted by his friends; the sworn enemy of tyranny, yet incapable of stooping to the base means adopted by some professed advocates of liberty, he was at once hated by the court and beloved by the people. The former sentenced him as a traitor; the latter revered him as a martyr. He was too high-minded and inflexible for the corrupt ministers of Charles, but his name is held in grateful remembrance by the millions whom he served

while living, and for whose liberties he bled. We rejoice in the appearance of the present edition of his *Life*, which is printed in one volume, and may be obtained at a much lower price than its predecessors.

The Poetical Works of John Dryden. With Illustrations by John Franklin. London: George Routledge and Co.

THE MESSRS. Routledge's Monthly Edition of the 'British Poets' promises to supply what has long been needed, but which no publisher has hitherto been adventurous enough to undertake. The volumes are to be in foolscap octavo, averaging five hundred pages each, and to contain a biographical notice of the author, with such notes as are deemed necessary. The price is five shillings per volume. Taking the present as a specimen, the series will be printed on good paper, with a clear and readable type. Dryden's poems have been inaccessible to the great body of our countrymen, and we are glad that they are now brought within the reach of most. They constitute one of our classics, and can never fail to gratify a large class of readers. Some of his best pieces, as 'Absalom and Achitophel,' 'The Medal,' 'Religio Laici,' and 'The Hind and the Panther,' possess other than poetic interest. Composed in the days of Charles II. and James II., they deal with the most stirring questions of that period, and throw a side-light over events—political and religious—in which Englishmen must ever take deep interest. The introductory notice of Dryden is not to our taste, and will not, in our judgment, promote the circulation of the volume. It is sadly destitute of what may be termed literary criticism, and is pervaded by the prejudices which are fast disappearing from all creditable authorship. There is a total misconception of the times which preceded Dryden: and the men who then figured on the stage are caricatured rather than described. No notice of Dryden is worthy of respect which does not admit the very suspicious changes he underwent. He became a monarchist immediately on the Restoration, and his conversion to popery promptly followed the accession of James II.

Mazzini judged by Himself and by his Countrymen. By Jules de Brevel. pp. 321. London: Vizetelly and Co.

WE know nothing of the author of this volume, and he evidently knows as little of the English people. One thing is evident,—if Mazzini's reputation is to be injured it must be by works of a very different character from the present. The gross abuse in which it indulges is more likely to insure Mazzini the good will than the hostility of our countrymen. He may be an 'Italian visionary.' We can tolerate his being called such, though we do not agree with the judgment; but when an author proceeds to call him a 'revolutionary pettifogger,' 'the scourge of Italy,' and to affirm that respect for him 'is henceforth absorbed in detestation;' nay, that his track 'was marked by ruin, bloodshed, and desolation,' and that 'he was the

greatest scourge that Providence ever suffered to afflict his native land,—worse than the barbarian hosts who, in the days of old, ravaged the bosom of fair Italy,' we turn away with disgust, and feel that our judgment is insulted, as well as foul wrong done to one of the noblest exiles that ever found refuge on our shores.

The Age and Christianity. By Robert Vaughan, DD. Second Edition. pp. 307. London: Jackson and Walford.

WE are glad to see on our table a second edition of this work. The form of lectures has been dispensed with, and the author has taken considerable pains to render it 'a better book than the one published before under the same title.' In this he has happily succeeded, and we know few works better adapted for usefulness amongst 'thoughtful young men.' To such we cordially recommend it, and are glad that its reduced price renders it accessible to a much larger class of readers than its predecessor.

Sermons on some of the Trials, Duties, and Encouragements of the Christian Life. By the Rev. Charles Bradley, Vicar of Glasbury, Brecknockshire. 8vo. pp. xii.—439. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.

MR. BRADLEY has long been a favourite author of Sermons among evangelical readers of all denominations. The present volume bears all the best characteristics of its predecessors—purity of doctrine, simplicity of design, plainness of speech, faithfulness, tenderness, and a pervading earnestness, mellowed by years. The spiritually-minded reader will be edified by the thoughts of so experienced a teacher on the following topics:—The Christian Looking at Things not Seen; The Christian Praying to be Upheld; The Fallen Christian Praying for Spiritual Joy; The Willing Spirit and the Weak Flesh; The Disciples Beholding their Transfigured Lord; The Christian Drawn unto God; The Operations of the Divine Loving-kindness; The Christian's Duty in the Day of Trouble; The Christian Dead to the Law; The Christian Walking in the Blessedness of the Gospel; The Christian Taught of God; The Christian's Strength equal to his Day; Abraham's Temptation and Obedience; Christians the Friends of Christ; David Encouraging Himself in God; The Christians Walking in the Truth; The God of Jacob the Christian's God; The Christian Satisfied with Christianity; The Christian's Estimate of Life and of Death; The Christian Waiting for his Final Change; Christians the Soldiers of Christ; Christianity a Warfare; The Divine Goodness a Refuge in Trouble; The Temptation of St. Paul; The Temptation of St. Peter; The Christian Rejoicing in Christ's Unchangeable Love. While we confess our preference for more fulness of exposition, strength of argument, and variety of illustration in Discourses from the Pulpit, and especially in Discourses from the Press, we are not ignorant that the popularity of Mr. Bradley's former publications of this kind, which

have reached third, fourth, sixth, eighth, and even *eleventh* editions, sufficiently indicate the large number of purchasers on whom he may rely for the 'indulgent reception' which he bespeaks in his singularly modest preface.

Lectures on Scripture Characters. Addressed to the Students of King's College, at the Lecture on 'Practical Religion,' founded by the late John Gordon, Esq. With Introductory Observations. By the late Duncan Mearns, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Aberdeen. Edited by his son, the Rev. William Mearns, Minister of Kinneff. Two Volumes, pp. xxxv.—602. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.

THOUGH these volumes are posthumous as a publication, they were prepared by the writer for the press, and bear all the marks of that careful composition which the author's position, and the frequent delivery of the 'Lectures' to successive classes, were likely to secure. Though there is none of that fascination which imaginative genius throws around whatever theme it handles, there is much that belongs to the dignity and responsibility of religious instruction for the young. With a sober sense of the dependence of Christian practice on the lively belief of the truths peculiar to the gospel, and a just perception of the power of real examples to explain, illumine, and commend the evangelical precepts, the lecturer has taken a wide range of characters from both the Testaments, disregarding mere chronological order; and, avoiding irrelevant or unsuitable disquisitions, he has aimed at the cultivation of revealed principles, addressing himself to the conscience and the affections, not less than to the understanding, of his youthful audience.

The Subject Matter of a Course of Six Lectures on the Non-metallic Elements. By Professor Faraday. Delivered before the Members of the Royal Institution, in the Spring and Summer of 1852. Arranged, by permission, from the Lecturer's notes, lent for the occasion, by J. Scoffern, M.B., late Professor of Chemistry at the Aldersgate College of Medicine. To which are appended, Remarks on the Quality and Tendencies of Chemical Philosophy, on Allotropism and Ozone; together with the Manipulative Details relating to the performance of Experiments indicated by Professor Faraday. pp. 293. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

WE cannot but notice the want of editorial care in preparing this volume for the press, in the hope that similar imperfections may be avoided in re-producing the lecturing notes of eminent professors. The title page promises an *Appendix* containing several remarks, which are actually embodied partly in a general introduction, and partly in separate introductions to each lecture, as a history of chemical science; and one is obliged, for want of a table of contents, to run through the volume itself, to learn that the lectures are on—1. Oxygen; 2. Chlo-

rine, Bromine, and Iodine; 3. Hydrogen; 4. Nitrogen; 5. Sulphur and Phosphorus; 6. Carbon. These defects have probably been occasioned by the preparation of the lectures, much condensed, for a journal; but in a separate volume, an intelligible arrangement should be prefixed; and it adds greatly to the utility of a publication of this kind, to be furnished with an index to its principal contents. The lectures themselves were, doubtless, well adapted to the society, at whose meetings they were delivered, and the information which the professor might assume to be familiar to that audience is well supplied by the editor for such readers as may require it, in order to their full appreciation of the lectures. The first lecture contains some remarkably interesting observations on *allotropism*—the existence of the same body under more than one form, of which ‘ozone,’ a condition of oxygen, discovered by M. Schönbein, of Basle, is an example. It is not a little curious, that the severe discoveries of chemical science are approaching towards something like the transmutation of metals, so long rejected as opposed to known analogies. The study of chemistry is in itself so fascinating, its innumerable applications in all the arts are of so much practical value, and its developments of divine wisdom and goodness are so infinitely diversified, that we rejoice in the extension of its discoveries, and in all the methods which modern ingenuity has invented for rendering it at once intelligible and attractive to the general mass of readers.

The Female Jesuit Abroad. A True and Romantic Narrative of Real Life; including some account, with Historical Reminiscences, of Bonn and the Middle Rhine. By Charles Seager, M.A. pp. 489. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

THIS is a sequel to ‘The Female Jesuit,’ and ‘The Sequel’ to that work, written by an intelligent Roman Catholic, and designed to counteract the impression conveyed in both the former publications, that Miss Garside was a Jesuit ‘Spy in the Family.’ Whether a case of such clever wickedness deserves so much attention may be a doubtful matter. Like all private gossip it is very *taking*; but, as far as regards the controversial part of the business, we regret to say that, in our opinion, the impression, on the whole, is very much in favour of what we conscientiously hold to be the wrong side of the question.

Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Lewis of Islington; with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. pp. 396. London: Ward and Co. 1853.

DR. LEIFCHILD, in a brief preface, informs us that this ‘Memoir’ has been written by Mr. Burrell, ‘one of Mr. Lewis’s most intimate friends,’ and speaks of it as a ‘truthful biographical sketch.’ The late Mr. Lewis was well known throughout the evangelical churches of many lands, and to not a few this ‘Memoir’ will be a sacred remembrance of one whom they would deem it a sin and a calamity to

forget. To strangers, the ordinary character of the letters, extracts, and narrative, may not prove highly attractive; yet the number is, we hope, considerable of those who will be glad to have the practical development of a life so full of Christian goodness, 'sterling good use, ardent piety, indefatigable diligence, and thorough consistency;' while still larger is the number of those who will rejoice to see his example followed by his successors in the various works of benevolence with which his name will ever be associated.

The Autobiography of a Missionary. By the Rev. J. P. Fletcher, Author of a 'Two Years' Residence at Nineveh.' In two volumes. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1853.

THIS is one of the works, increasing among us, we think, in which a writer presents delineations of scenes and characters of which he has gathered the materials in the course of his experience and observation. There is very little in it belonging to missionary life properly so called, and there would seem but slender sympathy with that earnest spiritual evangelism, which most readers would be led by the title to expect; neither do we think that there is enough power of any kind to raise it above the dull level of semi-fictions which constantly appear to disappoint the reader and be forgotten. There are one or two rather smart sketches, and that is about all that we have to say in its favour. The author is certainly neither a Manzoni nor a Benoni, neither a Lamartine nor a Dickens.

An Investigation of the Trinity of Plato, and of Philo-Judæus, and of the Effects which an Attachment to their Writings had upon the Principles and Reasonings of the Fathers of the Christian Church. By Caesar Morgan, D.D., Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Ely. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Cambridge and London: J. W. Parker and Son. pp. xxv.—166. 1853.

DR. MORGAN was a pupil of Archdeacon Paley at Christ's College, Cambridge. The 'Investigation,' now reprinted, was published by himself in 1795, and forms a valuable supplement to the writings of Bull, Allix, and Horsley, on the Trinitarian Controversy. It has been but little known, and we think the Syndics have done well in issuing this carefully revised edition. It is a work of rich learning. From an independent examination of the works of Plato, especially the passages which Ammonius, Plotinus, Proclus, Le Clerc, and other ingenious writers have adduced as teaching the doctrine of the Trinity, he gathers that Plato was *not* acquainted with the doctrine of three hypostases in the divine nature; that no such doctrine is attributed to him by any subsequent philosophers of Greece or Rome; that the opinion that he held this doctrine is due to the writings of Philo, which have been misunderstood, and to the anxiety of both Jewish and Christian writers, to prove that the philosophical principles of Pagan antiquity were derived directly or indirectly from Scripture. The use

made of this notion by later philosophers, who argued from it that there is nothing new in Christianity, is clearly exposed. From the entire investigation the author infers—that a Trinity of persons in the divine nature was the genuine and peculiar doctrine of the primitive Christian church; and that it is extremely dangerous to affect to be wise in holy things above what is written in the word of God. We regard it as a very valuable treatise, worthy to be *studied* by all who would escape, or would rescue others, from the perilous consequences of admitting that the Gospel of Christ had been anticipated by the philosopher of Athens.

The American Pulpit. Sermons by the most eminent American Divines. pp. 334. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

As there is no editorial Preface to this collection of American Sermons, and most, if not all, of them are reprints, they do not call for any critical notice from us. The twelfth in the series (p. 258) we recollect reading with great delight many years ago with a more appropriate title—not 'The Infinite Value of the Soul,' but 'The Gospel Preached to the Poor,' by the late Dr. John M. Mason, of New York—a Sermon of transcendent power and eloquence. It will be a sufficient commendation of the volume to add, that it contains thirteen other Sermons, by Drs. Hodge, Cheever, White, Spring, Hamilton, Griffin, Hope, Bethune, the Rev. Albert Barnes, Milton, Badger, and Professor Green, each of them marked by characteristic excellencies, and all instinct with the vitality peculiar to evangelical teaching.

The Million-Peopled City; or, One-Half of the People of London made Known to the Other Half. By John Garwood, M.A., Clerical Secretary to the London City Mission. pp. x.—317. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1853.

THIS volume is divided into five chapters—on Criminal and Destitute London Juveniles, or the Ragged School Class; Greenwich and Chelsea Pensioners; The London Cab-Driver; The London Omnibus Man; The Irish of London. Comprehensive as these chapters are, they comprise not more than one-fifth of the classes which compose the vast and motley population of this huge metropolis. The author, therefore, declares his intention of following up this fragment by further illustrations. His special object, as may be supposed from his position, is to call into exercise larger efforts for the benefit of the working-classes of London. Of course, his sources of information are likely to be limited, and, without intentional misrepresentation, the views he expresses are tinged by the associations unavoidable by the clerical mind. The subject is, indeed, so large, that it requires the united labours of many and various minds to do it justice, and when the requisite materials shall have been provided, none but a large, liberal, and powerful genius will be able to produce a work fully worthy

of the large title which Mr. Garwood has prefixed to his pages. The 'general reader'—whoever that may be—and the Christian philanthropist, will here find much food for meditation, of which we warmly advise him to partake.

Prayers, chiefly adapted for Times and Occasions of Personal Trial.

By John Sheppard, author of 'Thoughts on Devotion,' and 'Christian Encouragement,' and designed as a Companion to those volumes. pp. 371. London: Jackson and Walford.

THIS volume of prayers is a suitable companion to Mr. Sheppard's previous works, which we commend to Christians generally, as containing helps to private devotion which will be highly valued by those who have learned by experience how hard it sometimes is to pray when prayer is the only exercise in which the troubled spirit can find relief. The suggestions for the practical using of these 'Prayers' abound with the discriminating wisdom which can be learned only in the manifold workings of a highly disciplined spiritual life.

The History of England. From the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the year A.D. 1852; with Early Notices of the British Archipelago, Summaries of the State of the People at Different Periods, their Maritime Operations, Commerce, Literature, and Political Progress. For Schools and Families. By the Rev. Thomas Milner, A.M., F.R.G.S. pp. 808. Religious Tract Society.

WE have examined this history somewhat jealously on those points which we regard as *testing* points in a work of this description, and we have no hesitation in expressing our satisfaction with its liberal spirit and its historical fidelity. It is well worthy of a place in the 'Educational Series' to which it belongs; and, though much more bulky than other school histories of England, it is not too large. We are sorry that the necessary cheapness aimed at makes it impracticable to adorn such a book with wood-cut illustrations.

Memorials of the Independent Churches in Northamptonshire. With Biographical Notices of their Pastors, and some account of the Puritan Ministers who laboured in the County. By Thomas Coleman. pp. x.—392. London: Snow. 1853.

It appears from these 'Memorials' that there are thirty Independent churches, nearly all of long standing, in the county of Northampton, besides three home missionary stations, and thirty-eight villages supplied with Sabbath evening services, chiefly by the Independent churches. Among the pastors celebrated in the volume are names of note. We are glad to see other names rescued from oblivion. The work is carefully and judiciously written, and has claims on the encouragement of all who take interest in Nonconformist history,

as well as of those more immediately connected with the county. We should be glad to see a similar memorial of Baptist churches in the county where Fuller, and Ryland, and Hall, and other names dear to all right-hearted men, have so long been honoured.

Gospel Victories. Or, Missionary Anecdotes of Imprisonments, Labours, and Persecutions endured by Primitive Methodist Preachers between the years 1812 and 1842. By Thomas Church. pp. 148. London: Aylott and Jones.

THE progress of the 'Primitive Methodist' body has been remarkably rapid. Commencing in 1810, it possessed, Mr. Church informs us, in 1851, 308 stations; 551 travelling preachers; 1403 Sabbath schools; 1662 connexional chapels; 3592 rented chapels; 6490 class leaders; 9077 local preachers; 21,442 Sunday-school teachers; 112,568 Sunday-school children, and 108,781 members. Whatever deficiencies may characterize some of its labors, we rejoice in the vast amount of good which these figures betoken, and trust that the Society will yet continue to enlarge its boundaries by reclaiming many of our moral wastes. The present small volume consists, with two or three exceptions only, of articles contributed to the 'Primitive Methodist Magazine' by travelling preachers, and are reprinted with few and unimportant alterations. They are characterized by devotional warmth and earnestness, and may well serve to stimulate the zeal of men of much higher mark.

The Householder's Manual of Family Prayer, accompanied by short Forms of Devotion to be said in Private; intended chiefly for the use of Persons who are engaged in the Callings of Husbandry, Mechanical Arts and Trade. By William Thornton, Vicar of Dodford. pp. 82. London: Pickering. 1853. A simple useful manual, designed for members of the church of England, which may be used with edification by all Christian heads of families.—*Ballads from Herodotus; with an Introductory Poem.* By J. E. Bode, M.A., Late Student of Christchurch. pp. 117. London: Longman and Co. A delightful little book, like Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' which deserves to be popular.—*The Genius of Wordsworth Harmonized with the Wisdom and Integrity of his Reviewers.* By the late John Wright, Author of 'Poetry, Sacred and Profane.' pp. 130. London: Longman and Co. 1853. A smart controversial piece, which may interest our readers in Nottingham, if there be any of them prepared to believe that Wordsworth was the greatest literary impostor of his time.—*Christian Progress; a Sequel to the 'Anxious Inquirer after Salvation Directed and Encouraged.'* By John Angell James. pp. 179. London: Religious Tract Society. A worthy sequel to one of the most popular publications of the Tract Society, which we doubt not will be a universal favourite.—*The Teacher's Manual for Infant Schools and Preparatory Classes.* By Thomas Urry Young. Sanctioned by the

Commissioners of National Education in Ireland. pp. 284. Dublin: M'Glashan; London: Groombridge and Sons. An admirable book for teachers of every class and grade.—*The Church before the Flood.* By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. pp. 608.—*Scripture Readings on the Book of Genesis.* By the same. pp. 440.—*The Finger of God.* By the same. pp. 170. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. Dr. Cumming's abilities are well known, and by having his pulpit discourses reported and printed, he is able to keep up a constant supply of publications without the labour of writing—a system which, however suitable to his particular circumstances, does not commend itself as likely to supply readers with the well-digested thought and careful composition, which alone deserve, or obtain, a permanent place in the literature of any age or country.—*The Way to God, or the Doctrine of Christ's Mediatorship Briefly Expounded.* By the Rev. Thomas M'Lauchlan. pp. 113. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. A sound, old-fashioned, and very plain exposition of the central doctrine of the gospel, as held by the church of Scotland, and the greater part of evangelical churches.—*The Sensibility of Separate Souls Considered.* pp. 192. By C. Webb. London: Houlston and Stoneman. A good compendium of general arguments and Scripture testimonies, on behalf of the Christian belief in a state of consciousness between death and the resurrection.—*Christian Developments; a Course of Lectures on the Church of England, the Church of Rome, Congregationalism, Methodism, Unitarianism, Indifferentism. With a Supplementary Lecture on the Principles of a Christian Belief.* pp. 252. By John Gordon. London: Whitfield. A clever and genial book, with a stronger leaning towards Unitarianism than towards any other form of religious profession, from which men of all parties may derive hints not to be despised.—*The Light of the Forge; or, Counsels drawn from the Sick-bed of E. M.* By William Harrison, A.M. pp. 190. London: Longman and Co. The 'Light of the Forge' was a daughter of a blacksmith, in the neighbourhood of Colchester, and this little volume records the unfolding of her spiritual character on a bed of heavy suffering for seven years. It is full of eminently Christian 'counsels.'—*The Great Usurper.* 2 Thess. ii. 4. pp. 142. London: Religious Tract Society. A series of dialogues between Dr. Lindsay, a Roman Catholic, and his Protestant niece, in which the arguments on both sides of the papal controversy are ably put forth.—*The Change; or, The Passage from Death unto Life.* A Memoir of Lieut-Col. Holcombe, C.B., late of the Royal Artillery. By J. A. Gilbert, captain on half pay. New Edition. pp. 200. Bath: Binns and Goodwin. A reprint, with revisions, of a striking memoir, which is said to have been remarkably useful.—*Religion and Education in Relation to the People.* By John Alfred Langford. pp. 133. London: John Chapman. Mr. Langford's views of 'religion' are those propagated in the 'Westminster Review,' and his views of 'education' are those of Sir J. K. Shuttleworth. His object in this publication is to advocate the continental system of education in England. We have not any sympathy with his hope of seeing 'a system of free national education established in this country.'

—*A First History of Greece.* By the author of 'Amy Herbert,' &c. pp. 345. London: Longman and Co. A small volume designed for young readers, and well adapted to introduce them to an intelligent knowledge of Grecian history. The facts are mainly derived from the larger work of Bishop Thirlwall.—*The Pilgrim's Progress.* By John Bunyan. A new edition, with a Memoir by J. M. Hare. pp. 336. London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co. Another edition of Bunyan's immortal work, distinguished by several appropriate *Illustrations*, and by a brief memoir, comprising the chief incidents of the author's life, and full of honorable sympathy with his views. The text of this edition is founded on that of Mr. Offer, whose indefatigable industry and rare skill have distanced all competitors, and left little to be desired by the admirers of Bunyan's genius.—*Poems on Slavery.* By Longfellow, Whittier, Southey, H. B. Stowe, &c. Dedicated by permission to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury. London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co. A collection of genuine and touching poetry, consecrated to one of the most interesting themes which can engage the human mind. The poets of America, like those of England, are happily identifying themselves with the cause of human freedom.—*Switzerland; Historical and Descriptive.* Religious Tract Society. A number of the *Monthly* series, the title of which is sufficiently interesting to attract a large class of readers, in addition to which there are evidences of extensive inquiry, sound appreciation of the theme, and a deeply earnest spirit.—*Mary Anne Wellington, the Soldier's Daughter, Wife, and Widow.* By the Rev. Richard Cobbold, A.M. pp. 332. London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co. A new and improved edition of a work already extensively known, and now issued at the exceedingly low price of Eighteen-pence. It will be read with increased interest on account of 'the perfect truth of the narrative,' which we are informed is 'within the compass of any one's inquiry.'—*The Guards; or, the Household Troops of England.* By Captain Rafter. pp. 242. London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co. Another of the cheap publications of the day, in which a large mass of information is collected on a theme which is sure to find a numerous and ready audience. The object of Capt. Rafter is to present 'in a popular form a history of the English Guards, and a narrative of the glorious exploits in which they have borne so distinguished a part, especially in the destructive war that sprang from the French revolution and the boundless ambition of Napoleon.'—*The Miners' Sons: Martin Luther and Henry Martyn.* By the Rev. Charles D. Bell, M.A. pp. 101. London: Sampson Low and Son. The substance of two lectures illustrative of the life and character of men possessing little in common, save an earnest faith and untiring devotion. Mr. Bell has executed his undertaking with skill, and evinces a cordial sympathy with the evangelical views of both his heroes.

Review of the Month.

LORD SHAFTESBURY IS MOST HONORABLY DISTINGUISHED AMONGST HIS COMPEERS. Nothing is more common than the philanthropy of words; nothing more rare than that of deeds. In the former list many names are found of which the latter supplies no trace. The benevolence of Lord Shaftesbury is practical. He has first employed himself in ascertaining the nature and extent of the existing evil, and now he seeks, with characteristic earnestness, their correction. His reputation as a philanthropist is consequently the growth of years. His earliest efforts were derided. Men smiled incredulously at his labors, and refused him credit for sincerity. In the meantime, however, a solid basis was being laid for his present reputation, and he now enjoys, beyond any of his contemporaries, the confidence and admiration of all classes. The extent of his researches was strikingly shown on the 5th, when he moved in the Upper House that their lordships should resolve themselves into committee on the *Juvenile Mendicancy Bill*. It is impossible to speak too highly of the speech he delivered on that occasion. There was no oratory, no genius in it, in the ordinary sense of those terms. Its qualities, however, were vastly superior. He was master of his theme, had spared no pains to sound the depth of the vice and wretchedness he sought to correct, and produced on all his auditors the impression that he was honestly concerned to improve the morals and enlarge the happiness of his fellows. We can advert only very briefly to the evidence he adduced. Over that evidence we have pondered deeply. It is rarely that so much light is thrown on a theme so revolting. Indeed, few men are to be found who would submit to the drudgery of collecting the information which his lordship communicated. The country, he affirmed, was 'quite weary of speeches, of pamphlets, and of select committees on the subject of secondary punishments,' and it was therefore advisable to inquire whether some other method could not be devised to check the evil which threatened so seriously the interests of society. Of the causes of juvenile delinquency his lordship affirmed that 'the first and greatest were the parents, the next society, and, last of all, and least, were the culprits themselves.' 'Childhood,' he alleged, 'was the seed-time of crime,' and it was specially needful, therefore, to protect children from temptation if we would cut off the supply which at present recruits the ranks of professional thieves. In proof of the correctness of his views he adduced several witnesses of very various characters, but whose testimony is to the same effect. Of ninety thieves residing in one institution, he ascertained that sixty-two began to thief under fifteen years of age, and many of them

from twelve. To one hundred City Missionaries and Ragged School Teachers his lordship proposed the inquiry,—‘How many lads do you estimate are there who, having lived honestly up to the age of twenty, afterwards fall away, enter upon vicious courses, and turn out criminals?’ And the answer he had received from every one of these one hundred gentlemen was,—‘*Not two in a hundred.*’

The total number of children in London under fifteen years of age living in idleness, uneducated, and apparently neglected by their parents, is estimated at 20,641. ‘Now, this number,’ said Lord Shaftesbury, ‘though large and perilous, is not any immediate concern. The total number, as stated by the police, of trained mendicants and vagrants, frequenters of lodging-houses, nearly, if not actually, is about 3098; of these, without parents, 148; with parents able to maintain them, 336; with parents able to contribute to them, 1770—making of children whose parents could maintain them, but did not, 2106; the number whose parents sent them out to beg, and live in idleness and profligacy on their earnings, equal the remaining 844. This is confirmed by the testimony of a person engaged last year to perambulate the town, and examine the vagrants. He stated that of several hundred children traced to their homes, a very large proportion were of parents who could maintain them,—‘many earning as much as 16s. a-week and upwards.’ He (the Earl of Shaftesbury) was assured by Mr. Serjeant Adams that it was the result of his judicial experience that ‘the ability of these parents to support their children was the rule and not the exception.’

The number of professed thieves is under 6000. Their habits being confirmed, little hope can be entertained of their reformation, but not so with the children from whose ranks this class is recruited. ‘It is very difficult,’ said his lordship, ‘to restrain or reform 6000 adult thieves, but it is not difficult to insist on the education of 3000 children.’ The poverty of parents is usually regarded as the main cause of juvenile delinquency, but Lord Shaftesbury maintained—and it is difficult to disprove his statement—that this is utterly untrue. ‘Let us get rid of the notion,’ he says, ‘that mendicancy and vagrancy and the beginning of crime were the effects of poverty—of the poverty, he meant, of the parents. It was no such thing. In the first place, the returns he had quoted amply showed it. Mr. Clay asserted that his informant, a very practised thief, knew but one instance of actual distress as the cause of crime; the inspector he (the Earl of Shaftesbury) employed told him that he found the parents of about two hundred earning 16s. a week and upwards, and as many more, quite capable of work, living in idleness and dissipation on the earnings of their wretched children. Now, was it not manifest that the parents were the true criminals? He knew nothing on which all testimony was so concurrent; it had passed into a proverb at all meetings and discussions—always asserted and never disputed—that we “should never do any real good until we should have a new generation of parents.” The children were dispatched with orders to bring back a certain sum of money. Should they fail to obtain enough, they feared

to go home, and wandered about the streets for days and nights together.'

Upon this array of facts, Lord Shaftesbury proposes to deal no longer with *results*; 'not to filter the stream, but to cleanse the fountain, and lay hold of the parents themselves.' With this view he recommends an extension of the Vagrant Act, so as to empower magistrates to take up children found begging in the streets, and to place them in a course of education. 'They wanted,' he remarked, 'the power to supersede the authority of a corrupted and corrupting parent—to place the child in a safe place of education, and make, at the same time, the parent responsible for all charges.' Against the objection to which such a plan is open, his lordship maintained that it was not for punishment, but for protection simply that the young mendicant was to be apprehended; and he illustrated his views by a case which had recently fallen under his own observation:—'A lad that had been discarded by his parents fell down with a fever on the steps of a house. A gentleman who was passing by had him conveyed to the Fever Hospital. The fever was a godsend to the lad. In the hospital he was placed under the care of his excellent and able friend Dr. Southwood Smith. The kind doctor had brought the case under his notice for the purpose of inquiring whether there was not some refuge in which the lad might be placed. He knew of one, into which the boy was introduced. The boy remained in the refuge until he was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, when he certainly was a most towardsly youth, exhibiting great mental and bodily improvement. After he had been in the institution some time, his mother presented herself at the gate and demanded that her son should be restored to her. Such cases frequently occurred. He fortunately happened to be in the refuge at the moment, and resisted the woman's wishes. He found her a drunken, dirty person, and perhaps he went beyond the law, but he succeeded in frightening her by a threat of prosecution for neglect of her child. It would have touched their lordships very deeply if they could have witnessed the agony in which the lad clung to the teacher and the other lads in the place, imploring that he might not be sent away. At this moment the lad was in the receipt of very large wages in a very respectable situation in Nottingham, and he no sooner was in this situation than he sent for his mother, took her to his home, and that woman was now as respectable a person as could be found in the neighbourhood of Nottingham.'

There was a general concurrence in the outline of his lordship's plan, but various objections were urged to some of its provisions. The bill passed through committee *pro formâ*, and was then referred, for consideration, to the Poor Law Board. We trust that it will speedily reappear, and with as much amendment as possible, will obtain the sanction of the legislature.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS WERE THE SUBJECT OF RENEWED DISCUSSION ON THE 5TH. They were introduced to the House by Mr. Collier, who moved for leave to bring in a bill to transfer the testamentary jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts to the Courts of

Common Law and to the County Courts. The honorable member for Plymouth prefaced his proposal by referring to his motion in March last, which he withdrew 'on the assurance of the government that they were prepared to deal speedily and at once with these disgraceful abuses.' Finding that their measure would not be forthcoming during the present session, Mr. Collier asked leave to introduce a bill dealing with the *testamentary jurisdiction* of the Ecclesiastical Courts, at the same time that he avowed his conviction that there was 'no mode of effectually and thoroughly settling this question short of the abolition of every Ecclesiastical Court in the kingdom, and transferring all their jurisdiction that was of a useful character to the other tribunals, and having new and efficient Ecclesiastical Courts, if that were thought necessary, for the purposes of church discipline.' The main features of his bill were, that all wills respecting which there is no dispute should be proved in the *County Court*, having jurisdiction in the 'district where the testator lived at the time of his death;' that the will being registered in such court, and a probate granted, the original will should be sent to a registrar-general in London; and that in the event of disputes, all cases under £300 should be settled in the County Courts, and those of greater amount be transferred to the superior Courts of Common Law. Lord Palmerston consented to the motion, and assured the House, 'that if no measure on the subject was yet prepared by the government, that did not arise from any indifference or any change of intention on their part, but from the great pressure of public business, and because the government thought it better, instead of bringing in a bill, as his honorable and learned friend proposed to do, and letting it lie over till next session, to delay the proposition of any measure till next year, when they would have the benefit of the report of the commission and the advantage of greater leisure for consideration during the recess.' The unanimity of the House was complete, and we do hope the time is at length come when the monstrous abuses, so long complained of, will receive an effectual correction. 'There was one thing,' said the Attorney-General, 'on which he took it they were all agreed, both in that House and out of it, and to which even Doctors' Commons hardly ventured to raise a dissenting voice—namely, that the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in matters testamentary did require great and complete reform.'

FEW THINGS HAVE OCCURRED FOR SOME YEARS PAST more discreditable to the House of Commons, or more disappointing to the country, than the vote taken on the 5th on the procedure of the Admiralty department of Lord Derby's government. After an ineffectual attempt on the part of Mr. Disraeli and Sir John Pakington to prevent the introduction of the subject, Mr. Keating moved, pursuant to notice: 'That referring to the report of the Select Committee on Dockyard Promotions, and the evidence upon which it is founded, this House is of opinion that during the administration of the late Board of Admiralty the patronage of dockyard promotions and the influence of the Admiralty were used and exercised for political pur-

poses to an extent and in a manner calculated to reflect discredit upon that department of the government, and to impair the efficiency of the service.' It is unnecessary to detail the evidence adduced in support of this motion. The subject has been so frequently before the House that the facts of the case are well known; and the names of the Duke of Northumberland and of Mr. Stafford have become, in consequence, a synonym for official neglect and the grossest corruption. Our only wonder is, how men could venture, in the year 1852, so to prostitute the patronage of their office as the late Secretary to the Admiralty is proved to have done. We can only account for the fact on the supposition that the game played by the Derby administration was felt to be a desperate one, whose only chance of success was the unscrupulous use of every means which the possession of office conferred. Happily the effort failed. Public morality was sufficiently outraged by the attempt; we have been spared the disgrace which must have attended its successful issue. The tactics pursued by the opposition on Mr. Keating's motion were in keeping with the deeds which that motion was designed to brand. Mr. Disraeli, with a view of preventing the introduction of the subject, first attempted to move an adjournment of the *House*, but being pronounced out of order, and the case having been stated by Mr. Keating at considerable length, Sir John Pakington moved the adjournment of the *debate*, in a speech reflecting severely on the committee which had examined into the alleged delinquencies of the Admiralty Board. Both Mr. Disraeli and Sir John Pakington demanded an opportunity of replying to the charges preferred. A change, however, suddenly passed over their views. It was late in the evening, the House was thin, and the opposition deemed themselves strong enough to get rid of the motion. Sir John Pakington therefore voted against his own proposition, and the adjournment of the *debate* was negatived by 95 to 79. Four divisions subsequently took place, the last of which carried the adjournment of the *House* by 100 to 59. The effect of this vote is to erase from the notice-paper the motion of censure on the late Admiralty administration, than which it is difficult to imagine anything more inconsistent with its vaunted purity, or more deeply disgraceful to the parties concerned.

The opposition, as the 'Times' justly remarks, have thus 'identified themselves fully with the corruptions of the late Board of Admiralty, and must be content to bear the odium which the support and championship of such iniquity inevitably draws after it. Asserting the purity of the Board, they have done everything they could to wriggle out of the necessity of supporting by argument the truth of that which they affect to believe; affecting to deny the fairness and impartiality of the committee, they have shrunk from the test offered them by Lord Seymour, of pointing out a single statement not borne out by the evidence, and, in defiance of all their own protestations and actions, have sheltered themselves behind a casual and momentary majority from that investigation and discussion which they dreaded while they affected to desire, and shrank from while they seemed to challenge.' The decision of the House reflects severely on the opposition, and

is far from creditable to its more liberal members. The country will naturally ask, how was it that only 49 members were found to vote against such a motion? Many weeks elapsed after the presentation of its committee's report before the House was asked to pronounce judgment on the delinquents. Their guilt had been established on the clearest evidence, and no uninterested man entertained a doubt on the point, yet the House permitted the criminals to escape without even the censure of words. Is it for this that the toils, and anxieties, and sacrifices, of our representative system are incurred? We trow not. 'There never was a case which more imperiously required that the judgment of the House of Commons should be deliberately weighed and solemnly given. There never was a responsibility which could so little bear to be evaded or trifled with. The House is asked for its verdict of guilty or not guilty on a case laid before it, founded on evidence carefully taken and deliberately sifted. This great issue is put to the House of Commons, and it flings it on one side and adjourns. There are a hundred members whom party feeling and personal considerations bind to protect the delinquents, and the remaining five hundred cannot produce an equal number to support the accusation! The court will not entertain the cause; it abdicates its jurisdiction.'

THE ADVERTISEMENT DUTY, WE ARE GLAD TO REPORT, IS AT LENGTH ABANDONED. Few measures of the present government will give so much satisfaction, and the manner in which it has been accomplished does honor to Mr. Gibson and his associates, while it evinces the singular tenacity with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer clung to this most inexpedient and pernicious tax. On the 1st Mr. Gladstone, in a committee of the House, proposed to reduce it from one shilling and sixpence to sixpence. This was a large concession, and ministers hoped thereby to stave off the general discussion. In this, however, they were disappointed. A majority of the House had previously voted against the tax *in toto*, and Mr. Gibson, therefore, in consistency with his previous course, proposed as an amendment that 'all duties now chargeable on advertisements be repealed in accordance with a resolution of this House of the 14th of April last.' On a division the amendment was rejected by a majority of ten,—the numbers being 99 for and 109 against it. The resolution of April last had been carried by 200 against 169, and the majority of the government, on the 1st instant, is only to be explained by the fact stated by Mr. Bright, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'had some forty members behind him, connected with the government, who would vote for 1s. 6d., or 1d., or for nothing, just as he asked them.' The triumph of ministers, however, was short-lived. Many who had attended to vote at their bidding left the House immediately after the division, and a second vote being taken, government was left in a minority of five, and afterwards, on Mr. Craufurd's amendment, that a cipher (0) be substituted for 'sixpence,' the minority was increased to nine. In the former case, the numbers were 63 in favor of a sixpenny duty, and 68 against it; and in the latter 70 in favor of Mr. Craufurd's

amendment, and 61 against it. We hail this result as an important step in the right direction, and hope it will be speedily followed by an abolition of the other taxes on knowledge. On the 21st Mr. Gladstone reported that 'the government had resolved to defer to the opinion of what was undoubtedly a real majority of that House with regard to the advertisement duty;' and on being asked when the tax would cease, replied 'that there was no reason why it (the bill) should not become law at the conclusion of next week, or, at the latest, at the beginning of the following week.' It would have been well if this had been done earlier, and with a better grace. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had had due warning, and might have made 'political capital' of what is now regarded as mere necessity. We rejoice, however, in the fact, and the friends of popular intelligence may learn from it to be instant in season and out of season, never despairing of a good cause, but watching the opportunity which, sooner or later, will arise of carrying it to a successful issue.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL.—As might be safely predicted after the division on Sir Charles Wood's Bill on the first reading, the ministers are having their own way altogether in this important matter. The whole of the original clauses have been discussed and passed, the last, the forty-first, being affirmed on Friday night, the 22nd inst. The new clauses were brought forward on Monday the 25th, and there is no doubt now that the ministerial plans are adopted in their integrity. Divisions have taken place on several of the clauses, but all have resulted in an overwhelming majority for ministers. Four distinct issues have been raised—namely, delay of legislation, until the sitting committee has concluded its labors; direct government by the Crown; nomination of the six new members of the Court of Directors by the Court itself, subject to a veto of the Crown, in place of direct nomination by the Crown; and the admission of natives to the supreme council of India. In the course of the discussions on these points, considerable soreness has been manifested by the representatives of the Honorable Company in the House, at the infusion of the new element, the Crown nominees; and it has been fairly urged that, if Sir Charles Wood's eulogy on the Company were correct,—the *statu quo* of the present double government should be preserved,—the six Crown nominees were so much surplusage. On the other hand, the Manchester school have urged that the President of the Board of Control did not draw a correct picture of the state of India, and that it was needful to introduce members into the Court by other means than the votes of proprietors of East India stock, especially seeing that votes in such cases were sought and obtained *for a consideration*. Sir James Graham, incautiously, and somewhat inconsistently, after his high praise of the Company, let it out, that one object of the plan of nominees was to initiate direct government by the Crown, which could not be deferred more than twenty years, if so long. The results of the series of debates may be briefly told,—the double government is to be continued; the Board of Directors is to be reduced to eighteen, of whom six are ultimately to be Crown nominees; the natives are not

to be admitted into the highest offices ; Haileybury is to be opened to public competition, including natives of India ; and Addiscombe is to remain as it is,—that is, admissions are to be by nomination of the Directors. The government in India is to be improved in its materiel, and unquestionably the manner in which this is to be effected is one of the best features of the measure. The executive and legislative of India wanted strengthening and improving. There have been many little episodes during the debates, in which Mr. Bright, on the one hand, and Sir J. W. Hogg on the other, have been conspicuous as combatants. The Manchester school and the East India Company are evidently in no very good odour each with the other. The conviction amongst the more far-seeing of the House of Commons seems to be, that the present measure is experimental, and that at no distant day the rule of India must be the direct one of the British Crown. It is idle to talk of such an *accident* in the rule of the Company as being, *per se*, the *beau ideal* of right rule in such a case. The hypothesis assumes that the gigantic anomaly presented by the fact of 150 millions of people being ruled by a commercial company, has furnished the only and the best model on which the British people can exercise their sovereignty over India ! The truth is, that the government has shrunk from the task of assuming at once the direct rule, and will put off the disagreeable and onerous duty until the people of England come to be so thoroughly informed on Indian affairs that the absurdity and anomaly of the existing relations of the Crown of Great Britain to its Indian subjects can no longer be maintained.

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL HAS BEEN AT LENGTH ABANDONED FOR THE SESSION, without a second reading, Lord John Russell having previously expressed his determination to press the second reading of the bill, although he would not carry it into committee. Herein his lordship has doubtless acted discreetly for the convenience of the Government, but we are not quite sure that the course he has adopted is equally conducive to the public interest. We confess that we should be glad to see the question of popular instruction brought back into the arena of parliamentary investigation and discussion, it being thereby withdrawn from the secret, irresponsible, and unconstitutional body—the Committee of Council on Education—by which the vast and extending system of measures now in operation is conducted. In the present case, the bill being abandoned, the minute of the 2nd of April, doing for a large part of the country the same thing, remains in force, and there seems to be no limit to the mischief which may be thus quietly effected. It is time, we think, that public attention should be more pointedly directed to the proceedings of the Committee of Council, and we should rejoice to see placed on the records of Parliament a notice of a motion, to be brought forward early in the ensuing session, for the appointment of a select committee of inquiry.

THE EDINBURGH AND CANONGATE ANNUITY-TAX ABOLITION BILL was the subject of debate on the 19th. This bill is confessedly a compromise, though, as usually happens in such cases, the church has, by far, the best of the bargain. Unable to maintain her former position,

she condescendingly submits to barter a small fraction of her claims, for security to the remainder. She cannot retain all, and is therefore willing to relinquish a trifle, on condition that the consolidated fund becomes security for the rest. We admire the subtilty, but cannot see the equity of this arrangement. The dissenters of Edinburgh are said to be parties to the scheme. For their own sakes, we hope it is not so. A more flagrant departure from their professed principles cannot well be imagined. The subject has frequently been under the consideration of parliament. It has been inquired into by the government, and by a select committee of the House, and the measure now submitted by the Lord Advocate is, he informs us, 'in most material respects, exactly the same as that which had been handed to him by his predecessor.' The main provisions of the measure are, to annul the exemption at present enjoyed by members of the legal profession; to reduce the number of ministers from eighteen to fifteen; to abolish the existing annuity-tax, and to levy in its stead a rate of three per cent. on the rental; to pay into the consolidated fund a sum sufficient to make up the stipends of the clergy, and ultimately to apply to this purpose 'a certain sum from the revenues of the deans of the Chapel Royal.' The present stipend of the ministers is about £600, and it is proposed to fix it at £550. The Lord Advocate alleged that the measure was framed 'in the spirit of a fair compromise,' adding that it 'was the first measure which had received the general concurrence of all parties, and that the town-council of Edinburgh, which embraced church-establishment men, free churchmen, and episcopalians, had almost unanimously concurred in recommending it.' Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P. for Stockport, moved as an amendment that the bill be read that day six months, which was seconded by Mr. Hadfield. Mr. Smith's speech was crowded with facts which went clearly to show that the measure was unrighteous; partaking of the vicious nature of all compromises where principle is concerned, and only adapted to bolster up for a time a system which the public mind has outgrown. Prior to 1810, the annuity-tax was collected by the corporation of Edinburgh, and the amount raised in twenty years exceeded by £37,120 the sums paid to the clergy. In 1808, a bill was framed on this subject, 'which contained,' said Mr. Smith, 'a clause smuggled in, perpetrating a gross pious fraud on the people of Scotland.' The number of stipends was raised from six to eighteen, and the amount of salary from £330 to £750. Many law-suits followed, and the corporation ultimately engaged to pay the clergy £520 a-year each until 1820. At that time the ministers undertook to collect the tax themselves, and the difficulty of raising it became insuperable. In 1848, Mr. J. S. Lefevre was deputed by the government of Lord John Russell to go to Edinburgh with a view of inquiring into the nature of the tax, and from his report we learn, amongst other things, 'that out of £10,000 paid in one year to this tax, upwards of £8000 was paid by persons who never went to church.' We have not space to enter into the other details furnished by the honorable member, and must content ourselves with strongly recommending them to our readers.

Mr. Macaulay argued at considerable length in support of the

ministerial measure, but it requires far more ingenuity than we possess to discover the relevancy of the facts he stated to the conclusion at which he arrived. He admitted the grievance; asserted that the Edinburgh clergy, in proportion to the population, cost 'more than three times as much as the clergy of the other great towns of Scotland;' and argued, that if a church 'inspired feelings opposed to affection and respect, better that it should not exist at all;' yet implored the House, 'for the sake of the peace of Edinburgh, for the sake of the peace of Scotland, for the sake of the Established Church, not to reject the bill.' A more glaring instance of the *non sequitur* we have never met with.

Several other members spoke on the measure, and Mr. Miall condensed in a few words the main objection to which the bill is liable. 'The taxing,' said the honorable member, 'of the large majority for the support of the religion of a small minority was a prominent principle in this bill, and that was a principle which the right hon. gentleman himself (Mr. Macaulay) entirely condemned. Religious instruction had to be provided for 8000 inhabitants of the ancient and extended royalties of the city of Edinburgh, and here was a proposition to tax 66,000 people for that purpose.' Time cut short the debate before a division could be taken; and there is therefore a good prospect of the bill falling through this session. We cannot conclude without tendering, in the language of a weekly contemporary, 'our heartiest thanks to Mr. B. Smith, for the ability with which he has stood forth, on this occasion, in defence of consistent Voluntaryism. . . . He, at least, will have no reason to be ashamed of defeat, should he eventually suffer it—and if triumphant, he may well be proud of his triumph. Certain we are of this, that five years hence, it will be far more satisfactory to reflect upon having acted with him, even if unsuccessful, than upon having followed the Lord Provost to a discreditable victory.'*

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* Nonconformist, July 20th.